ABSTRACT

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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The Political Orientations of Blacks in Three Bi-Racial Predominantly Rural Counties in Georgia: The Cases of Brooks, Burke, and Peach Counties

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Based on a definition culled from modern black liberation rhetoric (1966 to present), the study explores the extent of black nationalist sentiment, level of political participation, and socio-emotional commitment to political action among blacks in the rural situational context. Research findings are based on a one percent random sample of non-leadership using a cluster bloc approach, and a selected sample of black leaders in each county identified through a reputational approach. The study is basically descriptive due to the nature of the data on hand.

Political institutions in the Southern rural milieu are under the domination of an agrarian elite and its agents whose basic relationship with the black population may best be described as of a patron-client variety. The Southern white value framework in support of the clientage system is traditionalism which had been forged out of the logic of the slave economy, and refined and distilled during the Civil War, Reconstruction and Counter-Reconstruction. It has been perpetuated through the maintenance of blacks in a position of subjugation to assure their availability as a cheap labor supply. Political and social development of the

rural South is, in part, the result of the intervention of the Federal government, the civil rights struggle and the black power movement. Heightened political awareness in Southern rural black communities followed the Civil Rights Movement of the early 1960's; the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the Voting Rights Act of 1965; and Federal enforcement of public school desegregation. This heightened political activity in the black community is evidenced in the black political history of all three counties since 1966.

It was found that black political participation in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties today does not conform to the portrait of blacks given in the literature on Southern politics. In that literature, blacks are portrayed as non-political, apathetic black individuals who dare not discuss politics for fear of economic reprisals from the white community, and who use non-political institutions to channel and sublimate their aggressions and ambitions. The literature also suggests that blacks are socialized as parochial subjects of the political system, with expectations that the political system will act upon them without their participation.

Although differences were found among the three counties, generally, there was a definite trend toward political participation and politicization among respondents. There also appeared to be a basic level of black identity in existence in which respondents saw themselves as belonging to a large collectivity of blacks whose bonds transcended their sub-community. Blacks in rural Georgia also expressed a deep level of belief that they have a heritage to be proud of.

THE POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF BLACKS IN THREE BI-RACIAL PREDOMINANTLY RURAL COUNTIES IN GEORGIA: THE CASES OF BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

PREFACE

Purpose of the Study

Perhaps the greatest bias of this dissertation is the extent to which it has been guided by the commitment to the struggle for the liberation of black people. Predicated upon the assumptions that ideas help men to control and change their environment; and that Black Nationalism has been a major force in giving black Americans the impetus to change the status quo in American society, this study is an exploratory attempt to empirically test the extent to which dimensions of Black Nationalism exist in the Southern rural milieu of three bi-racial counties in Georgia.

Based on a definition culled from modern black liberation rhetoric (1966 to present), we identify the following orientations which may be subsumed under the concept Black Nationalism:

1. Acceptance of the colonial explanation of the black predicament.
2. Acceptance of the explanation of race as a basis of black oppression.
3. Recognition of the existence of bonds between blacks in America and blacks on the African continent.
4. Expression of pride in racial identity, aggressively or militantly asserted in demanding social respect and recognition along with increasing demands on the political system for control of the institutions in the black community.

The counties of Burke, Peach and Brooks were chosen to sample, via means of questionnaire-survey, the extent of nationalist orientation among blacks in the rural situational context. Two groups in each

county were sampled—a random sample of non-leaders, and a sample of leaders identified by means of the reputational approach.

The concern with the Southern rural milieu is justifiable for several reasons. First, students of Southern politics have recently noted the proliferation of black elected officials from the non-metropolitan South.[1] Second, the rural South still provides a major context for the early socialization of many black migrants to the nation's cities. The recent shifts in population recorded by the 1960 and 1970 census indicate that rural-urban migration of young blacks is still a phenomena with which cities in the North and South must deal.[2] The "enduring early socialized attitudes hypothesis" leads one to seek to learn more about the attitudinal milieu which gives rise to these phenomena. Third and perhaps most important for chronicles of science, few empirical studies exist on the recent orientations of blacks in the rural South. Most accounts of rural black orientations are derived through comparison of Northern urban-born blacks with those blacks who migrated to cities from the South.[3] Fourth, basic to the contention that

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[1]Mack H. Jones, "Black Officeholders in Local Governments of the South: An Overview," in Politics, 1971, Problems of Political Participation (Greenville: East Carolina University Press, 1971), pp. 49-72; Samuel Dubois Cook, "The Tragic Myth of Black Power," in The New Politics, ed., Robert Golembiewski, et al (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), pp. 284-289; Haynes Walton, Jr., Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1972).

[2]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

[3]See for example Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964); W. Brink and L. Harris, Black and White (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966).

black liberation will be furthered by the drive to reduce black land loss in the rural South, is the development of a group morality and ingroup consciousness. The possession of land must be seen within the context of group politics as well as individual economics to be fruitful.

It has been necessary for Georgia counties to be arbitrarily divided into three groups: (1) Those with population of 100,000 or more—Metropolitan Areas; (2) Those with populations between 25,001 and 99,999 which are designated as middle sized counties and (3) Those with populations of 25,000 or less—126 Georgia counties fall into this category. Our definition of "rural" includes counties in this category, and it is from this group that the three counties in this study were chosen.

All three counties may be considered bi-racial due to the relatively equal number of blacks and whites in the total population. Of the three counties sampled, Brooks county had the smallest percentage of black population. According to the 1970 Census the total population of that county was 13,739 of which 6,343 were black. Blacks were 41 percent of the voting age population.[4] Brooks county is located at the extreme Southern end of the State and is basically a farm area. Recently a black person was elected to a post on the city council of Quitman, the county seat in Brooks County. He was the first black elected official in the county outside of those who have served on the County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Board.

Burke County has the highest percentage of black population of the counties in this study. According to the 1970 Census, the population of Burke County was 18,255, with blacks constituting 10,988 of the total.

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[4]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census, General Population Characteristics—Georgia.

Located in the Northeastern section of the State along the South Carolina border, the county is a black belt county with the largest land area in the State of Georgia. It is basically rural farm-oriented and occupies a location that is within easy commuting distance from the Augusta Metropolitan area. Augusta is approximately twenty-five miles from the Burke-Richmond County lines. It is also approximately fifty-six miles from the city of Midville which is located in the extreme southwest end of the county. No blacks have been elected to office in Burke County.

Peach County, whose population is 15,990 (Black population 9,129) is one of the youngest counties in Georgia. Created out of Houston County in 1924, the county's black population is classified by the Bureau of the Census as rural non-farm. Because predominantly black Fort Valley State College is in the county, political activity in the black community has been significantly affected. Black students' involvement in local politics reached a new high as a result of the Supreme Court rulings in Shapiro vs Thompson (1969), and Dunn vs Blumstein (1972).[5] The black political activity stimulated by Fort Valley students and professors may be said to have sparked the embroilment of the local college in the well-publicized court case, Jack R. Hunnicutt et al vs W. Lee Burge et al (1973).

Methodology and Procedure

The Rural Research Design. The tri-county study of the political

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[5]89 S. C. 1322 and 92 S. C. 995. The Shapiro ruling struck down the 1 year residence requirements imposed by states and the District of Columbia for welfare recipients as invidious discrimination in violation of equal protection of the laws. The Dunn ruling did the same for voting-residence requirements of 1 year in the state and 3 months in the county. A thirty day rule was articulated by the Court.

orientations of blacks in rural Georgia is an exploratory investigation using techniques of survey research. It might properly be termed a pilot study in the absence of other research models exploring a rural black political context. The methodological procedures employed grew out of the observations of the residential patterns of blacks in rural communities.

For the most part, black people, even in the rural context, may be found living in clusters identified as community settlements. Therefore a modified cluster-block approach was a useful method of selecting a random sample of non-leadership respondents. Historically, black community settlements owe their existence to common church membership, pre-integration school communities, and attachments to commercial districts as places of work and trade. More recently one finds the emergence of commercial residential developments. The rural migrant worker settlement has not been included in this study. Migrant workers who engage in seasonal farm labor live in temporary dwellings. Their seasonal mobility presents not only a problem for the black rural politician seeking to maximize black power, but to present researchers in that one was unable to distinguish dwellings which were presently being occupied. Another type of rural settlement omitted from this study is the closed plantation community. This type of settlement was omitted because of its inaccessibility.

It was found that the best means of identifying black community settlements in rural counties was through contact with those people in each county who are thoroughly familiar with the residential patterns in the black community. We have given them the designation "community knowledgeables" to distinguish them from community influentials. In most

instances they know the community by virtue of their occupations as bus drivers, community organizers, ministers, county agricultural extension agents, football coaches, etc. Community knowledgeables are not necessarily the black leaders of the community.

Identification techniques consisted of the location of settlements on state highway maps and existing maps of towns and villages. Using those existing maps which were detailed enough for farms and households to be identified, community knowledgeables were asked to mark the houses occupied by blacks. For those places where maps did not exist, rough maps were produced with the help of those community knowledgeables who were kind enough to ride through the area with the researcher and point out the houses occupied by blacks. In most cases the cooperation of several community knowledgeables was necessary to cover the county. The tremendous number of black settlements identified made it necessary to combine those which were geographically close together. A census of houses was done and each identified household/farm was assigned numerical identification in preparation for drawing the sample. The sample in this study is based roughly on 1 percent of the number of black households as reported in the 1970 census.[6]

The sample was apportioned among the community settlements based on their relative population distribution. A Table of Random Numbers was used in drawing the sample.

The random sample of non-leaders is biased toward the heads of households. In most instances, interviews were scheduled to coincide with

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[6]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census: General Population Characteristics--Georgia.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF BLACK HOUSEHOLDS IN 1970, AND LEADERSHIP AND NON-LEADERSHIP SAMPLES IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

County	Number of Black Households[a]	Leadership Sample	Non-Leadership Sample
Brooks	1540	20	18
Burke	2724	15	28
Peach	2042	17	21

[a]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census: General Social and Economic Characteristics--Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

the availability of household heads for consultation, and the response of another person in the household was accepted only when it was virtually impossible to interview the household head.

The reputational approach was the method used to identify the leadership sample. Community knowledgeables made out an initial list of leaders in the black community. This list was then either expanded or contracted by the use of two indices. The first index consisted of those names most frequently occurring in response to the question on the schedule, "Who would you name as the ten most important black leaders in this county?" Those persons most frequently named by the leadership sample as "key persons" in various types of political activity that comprise the county's political history was the second index.

Specific Orientations for Exploration. Two separate questionnaire-schedules were prepared, i.e., one for leaders and one for non-leaders. Specific political orientations around which the questionnaire schedules

revolved included seven major explanatory areas: (1) The extent of cultural nationalism extant in the black community; (2) the extent of acceptance of the colonial explanation of the black predicament; (3) the defining parameters of political action; (4) the existing levels of political participation; (5) the roles of family and church in the politicization of the rural black community; (6) who are the salient agents of political information and attitudes; and (7) familiarity with the national black power elite.

The study is guided by the following exploratory questions:

1. To what extent does the black rural community reflect the cultural nationalist movement along the dimensions of:

    a. Favorable outlooks toward wearing Afro's, naturale hairstyles, and modes of dress that express pride in being black.

    b. Acceptance of the colonial explanation of the black predicament as reflected in

        (1) acknowledgement of a common sense of identity with other African-Americans and the existence of bonds with Africa;

        (2) preferences for the use of the term "Black" to "Negro" in self-reference, and the rejection of the use of first names by whites as a sign of disrespect.

    c. Belief that the problem of survival for blacks calls for a <u>collective</u> rather than an individual approach.

    d. Feeling that the slogans like "black power," "black liberation," "black is beautiful," etc., have lasting meaning outside their popular context.

    e. Belief that shared racial identity is a basis for political unity.

    f. Belief in self-determination for African peoples, i.e., feeling that neighborhood institutions ought to be in the hands of the black community, and blacks everywhere ought to be in charge of governing themselves.

2. To what extent do black respondents recognize that forces outside the realm of individual enterprise are responsible for the black plight.

3. To what extent does in-group trust/cynicism exist?

4. What are acceptable political strategies in the black community which black leaders feel that they may choose and reasonably expect their following to participate in?

5. At what levels of political participation do rural black respondents operate? Three levels of political participation have been identified based on a modified version of the Mathews and Prothro scale.[7]

   a. Talking politics.

   b. Expressing definite opinions on candidates and political issues.

   c. Active participation in electoral activity.

6. What is the role of the family and church in the politicization of the rural black community? Politicization is herein defined to mean:

   a. Conveying an awareness that politics, e.g., public affairs and conditions in the black community, are topics to be actively discussed.

   b. Carrying out partisan type discussions that encourage its members to take sides in public controversy, i.e., instructing people who to vote for or against.

7. What are the salient agents that mediate political information and attitudes for the black community? Salient agents are identified as:

   a. Those instruments of mass media which respondents rate as their first, second and third preferences in giving a true picture of public affairs and issues.

   b. Those persons whom respondents list as their first second and third choices of those with whom they would most likely discuss public issues or problems.

8. Which segments of the national black power elite are most widely known by citizens in rural Georgia? Those blacks who have publically acknowledged their political commit-

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[7]Donald R. Mathews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (Atlanta: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966), Chapter 3.

ment to be the acquisition of 'black power,' and who have been proclaimed leaders of black people by virtue of their office, or their declaration of leadership in the mass media are designated in this study as the National Black Power Elite. They fall within one of four camps of black nationalism which are identified as:

a. Pan-Africanist-Neo-Black Nationalists.

b. Traditionalist Black Nationalists.

c. Cultural Nationalist—Afro-Americanists.

d. Integrationists.

Knowledge of leaders is assumed to be the result of historical experiences at the level of either direct or secondary contact mediated through the salient agents of political information and attitudes.

9. Which, if any, ideological tenets are in the ascendency in the rural black community? How do they compare with the leadership camps with which they have acknowledged historical contact?

Limitations of the Research and Value of the Study. Lack of funding has limited the fieldwork involved in this study in terms of the size of the sample and the amount of time the researcher could devote to the project. That these factors have a direct bearing on the breadth of generalizations which the study can generate is duly acknowledged. The study, by definition, tells us nothing about political orientations in those rural counties where blacks are not sizeable segments of the community. There are, perhaps, more of these type counties in Georgia than there are predominantly black counties. It is, however, hoped that in spite of these limitations, this study has a definite contribution to make to the chronicles of science, and to the black liberation struggle.

It is hoped that this study will fill a "need", a need to know whether there is "support", and what kind among the black brothers and sisters in the Southern rural milieu. Black leaders in rural communities also have a "need" to know more about the parameters for political

action in their communities.

Black political leaders in rural communities are lay politicians in the political arena (as opposed to the professional politicians) and could greatly benefit from the establishment of an information bank of useful data addressed to the special problems peculiar to their political plight. Unfortunately the black politician in the rural setting has been largely ignored by the social scientists who have viewed the salvation of the black predicament in the United States as tied to the nation's cities and their problems.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Tremendous indebtedness to the numerous community knowledgeables in each of the three counties under study who were so indispensable to this inquiry must be gratefully acknowledged. The writer wishes also to acknowledge great personal indebtedness to each of the following people: Professor Mack H. Jones, who has undertaken the major task of advisement to this dissertation; Professors Robert Holmes, Shelby Smith and William Boone for the valuable advice they rendered as members of the Dissertation Committee; my husband, Salmon Hollis, Jr., who has lent his support in many ways throughout this study—from chauffeur to baby sitter to critic and confidant; my sister-in-law, Cynthia Hollis, who provided much of the typing services; and finally to friends and relatives who have played parts in facilitating this dissertation, from background research and technical assistance to giving moral support. To all who have had a part in bringing this dissertation to fruition, the writer humbly says "thank you." For any mistakes and errors of judgment found herein, the writer alone is to blame.

CHAPTER I

TOWARD A CONCEPTUALIZATION SCHEME FOR THE EXAMINATION OF BLACK POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

Identifying Attitudes Supportive of Change and Innovation

This chapter attempts to develop a new and more viable frame of reference for analyzing black political orientations. As a prelude to presenting this new frame of reference, the limitations and constraints of the most commonly used frame of reference, i.e., political cultural-political socialization, are examined. In building this new frame of reference special attention is given to ideology as a social force which can be instrumental in changing the status quo. In this connection, black nationalism is viewed as a set of relevant attitudes for informing collective black political action. The power-dependence theories are also given special prominence in the new analytical scheme.

A political culture approach. This study falls within the broader context of the political culture frame of reference. A useful discussion of political culture appears in Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba's work, Political Culture and Political Development.[1] In the introductory chapter of that work Pye explains:

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[1] Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

> In any operating political system there is an ordered subjective realm to politics which gives meaning to the polity, discipline to its institutions and social relevance to individual acts.[2]

Verba further expounds on the concept in chapter 12, by pointing out the concern of the students of political culture with looking beyond the structure of politics to the beliefs that affect the way in which people act within these institutions. He further indicates that the study of political culture focuses attention on basic value cognitions and emotional commitments; the learning experiences by which political culture is passed on from generation to generation, i.e., the study of political socialization; and those situations under which political cultures change.[3] The utility of this focus is found in its attention to the psychological foundations underlying action and inaction. There are, however, built in limitations and constraints which are discussed in the next section.

Limitations and constraints of the political culture-political socialization paradigm. The paradigmatical concerns of students of the political culture-political socialization school with questions of stability, persistence of the established order, and evolutionary change pose serious problems for advocates for the downtrodden. The models of scholars in the forefront of that school of thought bind and constrain the researcher so that only knowledge of limited value in its application to minority struggles is produced.[4] Assumptions underlying those models

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[2]Lucian Pye, "Introduction" Political Culture and Political Development, ibid., p. 7.

[3]Sidney Verba, "Comparative Political Culture," ibid., p. 514.

[4]See for example Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969); Grabriel A.

about the nature of the socialization process limit the kinds of questions that can be raised and the kinds of explanations offered. The dilemma has been stated by Fred Greenstein in his exhortation to students of political socialization at the close of his research notes on "The Ambiguity of 'Political Socialization'" in the following passage:

> . . . the student of political socialization ought to orient himself self-consciously to the ends of political socialization. In 'moving back' from the normal preoccupation of political scientists with system functioning in order to examine the antecedent of behavior in political systems, he needs constantly to be guided by models and conceptions of that from which he is moving back.[5]

This point is illustrated by the complications arising in a 1968 study of the political attitudes of children conducted by the UCLA Committee on Civic Education. Joan Lawrence, writing in Psychiatry, recognized the constraints of existing political socialization and conceptualizations in interpreting data from the sample of black children.[6] Upon re-examination of existing concepts, she found that for the most part these definitions fall into two categories: (1) Thos which emphasize "politically relevant" attitudes in their definition as in Bender's "Political Socialization and Political Change;" and (2) Those which imply some agreement upon a set of acceptable norms and behavior to which the

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Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children and the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969); Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine, 1967); Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," in The Learning of Political Behavior, eds. Norman Adler and Charles Harrington (New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970), pp. 48-63.

[5]Fred I. Greenstein, "A Note on The Ambiguity of Political Socialization, Definition, Criticism and Strategy of Inquiry," Journal of Politics 36 (1970): 969-978.

[6]Joan E. Lawrence, "White Socialization: Black Reality," Psychiatry

individual is being socialized, as exemplified by Sigel's "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values."[7] Both definitions share the assumption of the existence of a single socialization process in a given society implied as "a process," or "the learning process," which result in a single set of attitudes, beliefs, cognitions and values to which individuals are being socialized within a given society. Lawrence argues first that this simplistic model satisfied the liberal democratic view of American society absent of class, or societal position; second, it permits economy of research designs, especially in terms of expense and sampling procedures; and third it allows differences to be explained merely in terms of deviation from a norm or quantity of socialization—some people are more socialized than others.[8] She thus found it necessary to abandon the use of these models and return to the initial concept developed by Hyman in his 1959 work. He defined political socialization of the individual as:

> . . . the learning of social patterns corresponding to his societal position as mediated through various agencies of society.[9]

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33 (1970): 174-194.

[7]Gerald J. Bender, "Political Socialization and Political Change," Western Political Quarterly 20 (1970): 390-407, at p. 392; and Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 361 (1965): 1-9.

[8]Lawrence, "White Socialization: Black Reality," p. 175.

[9]Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

Based on this conceptualization, Lawrence hypothesizes that there are certain general distinctions one may make relevant to political socialization in the American political system. Those distinctions are summarized below:

1. There are those norms and behaviors defined as acceptable by the on-going political regime, which it attempts to inculcate through its institutions;

2. There are other sets of norms and behaviors which are shared by, and may be functional for various segments of the citizenry;

3. Despite any changes in race relations in recent years, blacks and whites still occupy different positions in this society and the politically relevant social patterms related to being black are different from those related to being white.[10]

Thus, the black child's position as a black in this society gives him a different reality and a different self-interest even if he attends an integrated school.

Dwaine Marvick speaks to the differential socialization of blacks in his paper "The Political Socialization of the American Negro" when he conceptualizes political socialization as concerned with "how a person 'comes to terms' with the roles and norms of the concentric political world—local, regional and national—into which he passes as he grows up." He points out that norms and roles for political performance for the black American are learned in a special black subculture.[11] The existence of a different reality and self-interest on the part of blacks are

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[10] Lawrence, "White Socialization: Black Reality," pp. 176-177.

[11] Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," in Negro Politics in America, ed. Harry A. Bailey (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 35-36.

natural consequences of the black political experience as that experience is interpreted by black scholar Mack H. Jones, in his paper, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics." He identifies two important variables in the black political experience. The first variable is the psychological relationship between the two groups—black and white. Blacks form the submissive group and because of their African ancestry are singled out from other Americans for deferential and unequal treatment. On the other hand, the dominant group consists of a residual category made up primarily of persons of European ancestry whose members enjoy higher status and greater privileges than members of the submissive group. Their position is based upon the institutional belief in the superiority of whites. The second crucial variable is the black experience itself—the cumulative historical scars from the power struggle which blacks and whites have played out in the political arena. Whites pursued certain policies in order to maintain their superordinate position vis-a-vis their submissive counterparts, and blacks availed themselves of certain policies in an attempt to maximize their position.[12]

Another illustration of the constraints imposed by the more popular conceptualization of political culture-political socialization is contained in the profile of the young black militant that emerges from the studies of attitudes of blacks in riot cities.[13] The occurrence of riots

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[12]Mack H. Jones, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics," in Black Political Life in the United States, ed. Lenneal J. Henderson, Jr. (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 7-20.

[13]Nathan Caplan, "The New Ghetto Man: A Review of Recent Empirical Studies," Journal of Social Issues 26, No. 1 (1970): 59-73; A. Campbell and H. Schrumann, "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities," Supplement Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

were the students of the political culture-political socialization school a signal that an alienated abnormal sub-culture existed in the United States which threatened its stability. Their portraits of the ghetto resident pictured a young black militant committed to the removal of traditional racial restraints by open confrontation and violence, if necessary, but not necessarily anti-white. Nathan Caplan reviews a number of recent empirical studies and concludes that militancy in the pursuit of civil rights objectives represents a considerable force in the ghetto. Its support, says Caplan, "approaches normative proportions and is by no means limited to a deviant and irresponsible minority." He puts forth the tentative argument:

> . . . that the riots and other forms of civil rights protests are caused by the self-discovery of the American Negro, and his attempt to recreate himself socially in ways that are commensurate with his new image.[14]

The portraits drawn of the ghetto resident also had as their aim the reassurance of white society that the democratic tradition was not lost and that riots did not spell the doom of white society. They hasten to show that militancy is not associated with increased hostility toward whites, but that the more militant blacks are the less anti-white in their attitudes.[15] According to Caplan and Paige, the young black militant was found to hold more strongly to belief in non-discrimination and racial

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(Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968); N. Caplan and J. M. Paige, "A Study of Ghetto Rioters," Scientific American 319, No. 2 (August 1968): 15-21; Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

[14] Caplan, "The New Ghetto Man," p. 61.

[15] Ibid.

harmony than many other elements in the American population.[16] Militants are politically more sensitive and better informed than non-militants and are not to be found among the political alienated, i.e., militants express discontent, not with the political system per se, but with political representation and domination of the system by whites.[17] However, both militants and non-militants were found to express belief in the achievement ethic, i.e., that one gets ahead through the hard work of one's own individual efforts rather than dependence on luck or help from others.[18] What is more, only a small percentage of blacks were found to support black nationalism or pro-nationalistic statements.[19]

In the wake of white backlash, such studies served to reassure white liberals that they had nothing basically to fear from the young black militant who merely wanted to increase his mastery over his own destiny, and to share political representation with whites. A more useful picture of the young ghetto resident emerging from these studies and others shows the young black militant as a strong cultural nationalist.

The militant as a black nationalist. Caplan and Paige in the riot cities of Detroit and Newark discovered that rioters have strong feelings of racial pride. They are more likely to view their race more positively

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[16] Caplan and Paige, "A Study of Ghetto Rioters," p. 17.

[17] Caplan, "The New Ghetto Man," p. 61.

[18] Caplan and Paige, "A Study of Ghetto Rioters," p. 19.

[19] W. Brink and L. Harris, Black and White (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966); and Marx, Protest and Prejudice, Chap. 5.

than non-rioters on racial comparison items involving dependability, smartness, courage, niceness, etc. One-half of the rioters, but only one-third of the non-rioters, preferred to be called "black" rather than "colored," "Negro" or "Afro-American." Rioters were stronger in their belief that all blacks should study black history and African languages in high school. It was also found that rioters were more ingroup oriented than non-rioters. They socialized with their neighbors and others in the black community more frequently than non-rioters.[20] Marx found that the young black militant preferred black newspapers and magazines; and are better able to identify black writers and civil rights leaders, and have more positive appreciation of black culture than non-militants.[21] Dizard, in a study addressed to the extent of a collective identification and its distribution across classes in the black community, found that there is a minimum sense of collective identity shared by the vast majority of blacks in which they have a keen sense of being singled out and treated differently because of their skin color regardless of position, education and training.[22] He also found that when testing for extent of attachment to symbols of black culture and dividing respondents by degree of attachments into "high" and "low" groups the effects of age, education and occupational status on militance are virtually eliminated among those highly attached to black identity.[23]

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[20]Caplan and Paige, "A Study of Ghetto Rioters," pp. 17-21.

[21]Marx, Protest and Prejudice, pp. 70-73.

[22]Jan Dizard, "Black Identity, Social Class and Black Power," Psychiatry 33 (1970): 195-207.

[23]Ibid.

What sort of models and conceptualizations of political culture are useful in light of the black experience and in the interest of Black liberation? Those models of political culture which address themselves to the white and black "power-dependency" relationship; and which conceptualize culture within the context of balancing operations that are necessary to changing the basic power position of the black minority are most useful.

Political culture in the context of the black experience should be perceived as the ordered subjective realm of politics which gives meaning to the politics of black people in their pursuit of black liberation. Black institutions are disciplined by the extent to which members of the black community see the efficacy of a group position in the social order, i.e., value a collective identity. In a society where part of the plan to keep the black race in its subordinate position has been the deliberate attempt to deny the existence of a cultural basis for a collective black identity, that ideology is political which seeks to restore it. Black nationalism is such an ideology.

The Role of Ideology in Social Change: The Case for Black Nationalism

David Apter, in "Ideology and the Third World," credits Sorel with first recognizing the importance of ideology in laying the foundation for change. According to Apter, Sorel sees the role of ideology as building solidarity, and solidarity as the moral basis of society. Solidarity means a moral system based on class or commonly held values and held together by myth. Sorel, observes Apter:

. . . helped to clarify the function of ideology for society

> in building its bonds of affect, social commitment and historical perspective.[24]

When one leaves the level of the superior human community—the political community, Apter asserts that:

> . . . ideology like language and dreams, are related to morphologies of behavior. Ideas help men to control and change their environments.[25]

He joins Erikson in concluding that ideology plays a role in the identity formation of individuals.[26] In defining solidarity and identity Apter says:

> Solidarity is a highly abstract term for the bonds that hold individuals together through shared emotions about the same highly valued ideas and objects. Ideology cannot therefore be other than significant in solidarity. Identity is the self-definition of individuals with reference to their role and the role of others. Ideology cannot help but suggest guidelines to the self-definition process.[27]

Kwame Nkrumah in Consciencism argues in a similar vein when he perceives one of the functions of philosophy as "providing an ethic by laying down certain ideas for our general pursuit and fortification, and which becomes an instrument of unity by laying down the same ideas for all members of a given society."[28] As mentioned before, those orientations which release blacks from bondage to stereotyped images of themselves

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[24]David E. Apter, "Ideology and the Third World," in Reader in Political Sociology, ed. Frank Linderfeld (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), pp. 470-485, at p. 474.

[25]Ibid., p. 475.

[26]Erik H. Erickson, Young Man Luther: A Study of Psychoanalysis and History, as cited by Apter "Ideology and the Third World," pp. 476-477.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Kwame Nkrumah, Consciencism (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1964), pp. 56-57.

are political in the sense that they free men from the psychological controls exerted by the oppressor. Such controls conscribe their behavior and restrict their political opinions. Nelson N. Foote in his article "Identification as a Basis for a Theory of Motivation" argues that:

> Faith in one's conception of one's self is the key which unlocks the physiological resources of the human organism, releases the energy to perform the indicated act.[29]

The essence of his theory is that every man must categorize or label his fellows, as well as himself, in order to interact with them. These identities give common meaning, stability and predictability to his own behavior. Doubt of identity paralyzes action. The process of commitment to particular identities is a matter of experience. The compulsive effect of identification upon behavior must arise from absence of alternatives, from unquestioned acceptance of the identities cast upon one by circumstances beyond his control (or thought to be so). The encountering of alternatives releases him from preconscious bondage to any particular conception of himself.[30]

It is useful for white society to cultivate images of blacks that allow them (white society) to act in manners that sustain the political and economic dependence of blacks and maintain their condition of oppression. The stability of the established order demands this kind of behavior. It is more useful for blacks to perceive their stereotyped images within the context of a power-dependence relationship where language

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[29]Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," American Sociological Review 16, No. 1 (February, 1951): 18-19.

[30]Ibid.

functions to assist the dominant group in maintaining its power advantage. Richard M. Emerson, in his systematic treatment of social power relations, offers a useful frame of reference. He hypothesizes that two variables appear to function jointly in fixing the dependence of one actor upon another: (1) the motivational investments that A (the more powerful party) has in goals mediated by B (the less powerful party); and (2) the availability of those goals to A outside the A - B relationship. In the social power equation, says Emerson, the power of A over B is equal to, and based upon, the dependence of B upon A. A power advantage is said to exist when the stronger member discovers and uses the weaker member to achieve one value at the expense of other values. When a power advantage exists there is a situation of power imbalance resulting in social tension. In this situation the dependent party has two options open to it for tension reduction: (1) cost reduction, i.e., reducing the psychic costs involved in re-definition of values, appropriate rationalization and shifts in reference group attachments; or (2) balancing operations, i.e., acting in such a manner that reduces A's power advantage. Emerson makes clear that cost reduction, while reducing the pains incurred in meeting the demands of a powerful other, does not necessarily alter the power relationship. Instead balancing operations usually occur in four ways. They are: (1) motivational withdrawal by the weaker member; (2) cultivation of alternative social relationships by the weaker member, arranging to satisfy his needs elsewhere; (3) according increased status recognition to the stronger party, e.g., ego gratification rewards, thereby increasing his motivational investments in the relationship; and

(4) coalition and group formation.[31]

Stokley Carmichael, originator of the concept 'black power' on a 1966 Mississippi march, is also responsible for the development of the concept into a black liberation ideology. That ideology addresses itself to balancing operations in the black-white power-dependence relationship in the United States. After spelling out the socio-economic motivational investments which whites have in maintaining the colonial dependency of blacks, he proceeds to define the problem of blacks as basically two-fold. The problem of blacks in the United States, he argues, is that they are black and poor, i.e., the problem of blackness and the problem of poverty. Their poverty stems from the fact of their powerlessness and dependence in the face of colonial exploitation of black communities of ghettos of the United States. The problem of blackness is that color is the defining rationale for the maintenance of blacks in their condition of dependency, i.e., color is the key to that oppression. Thus according to Carmichael, the balancing operations necessary to black liberation calls for: (1) the achievement of psychological equality; (2) self-determination through black political power; and (3) a communalistic and cooperative approach to community development in black ghettos.[32]

The problem of power-dependence relationships is also a concern of Morton Deutsch as he wrestles with the problem of appropriate strategies for the powerless in reducing or overcoming the defensiveness of more

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[31]Richard M. Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relationships," American Sociological Review 31 (February 1966): 31-41.

[32]Stokley Carmichael, Stokley Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan Africanism (New York: Vantage Books, 1971), pp. 18-19.

powerful groups. What can be done, he asks, to increase the latter's willingness to share power when the high power group may be unaffected by positive or negative incentives than the low peer group control? He puts forth two basic strategies. First through building its own institutions and developing its own resources, a low power group can make itself less vulnerable to exploitation. Again it can augment its power by collecting or activating sub-groups within the high power group or third parties as allies in the high power group to the accomplishment of low power group goals. Deutsch spends the rest of the article discussing the conditions and methods of attaining allies. These techniques are identified as: (1) searching for other kinds of connections with high power groups which could increase the affective or instrumental dependence upon the low power group and thus change the power balance; (2) attempting to change the attitudes of those in the high power group through education and moral suasion; (3) the use of existing legal procedures to bring pressure for change, e.g., concentration of voting power in small numbers of political arenas or concentration of economic power toward obtaining control over certain key industries and unions; and (4) the use of harassment techniques to increase the other costs of adhering to the status quo.[33]

Emerson, Deutsch and Carmicahel are all basically addressing the

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[33]Morton Deutsch, "Strategies for Powerless Groups," in Racial Conflict: Tension and Change in American Society, ed. Gary T. Marx (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), pp. 223-228. Deutsch defines harassment as a strategy which employs legal or semi-legal techniques to inflict loss, to interfere with, disrupt or embarrass those in high power. He identifies many forms which can be used by low power groups such as consumer boycotts, work slow downs, rent strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, tying up phones, mail, government offices, businesses, traffic, etc., by excessive and prolonged usage, ensnaring bureaucratic systems

same problem. It is clear from the tone of the writings, that the first two have less motivational investments in the outcome of the struggle than does the latter.

Jan E. Dizard in "Black Identity, Social Class and Black Power" noted that the current movement in the black community toward enhancing dignity and self-worth is explicitly political and is linked to whole series of demands for autonomy, "self-determination," community control, and more generally, equality with other ethnic groupings in society. He concludes that black identity has been used and is being used now as a basis for organizing the black communities into a more cohesive and hence politically more powerful force.[34]

Looked at in this light, the black nationalism of the black power movement is an attempt to help blacks clarify for themselves their collective identity. It shares a tradition with all the black nationalist precedents. In the words of Carmichael, it is:

> A call for black people in this country to unite to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for black people to begin to head their own organizations and to support their organizations. It is a call to support these organizations. It is a call to reject the racist institutions and values in their society.[35]

By way of summary, in this chapter, it has been argued that political culture in the context of the black experience should be perceived

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in red tape, being excessively friendly and cooperative, creating psychological nuisances, etc.

[34]Dizard, "Black Identity, Social Class and Black Power," pp. 195-207.

[35]Stokley Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vantage Books, 1967), pp. 17-18.

as the ordered subjective realm of politics which gives meaning to the politics of black people in the pursuit of black liberation. Because of the superordinate-subordinate relationship, i.e., the power-dependence relationship of the black man in the United States, some black leaders have recommended the ideology of black nationalism as an ordering device. This ideology addresses itself to the rectification of the power imbalance equation through the building of attitudes such as race pride, self-sufficiency and ingroup consciousness. A useful way of looking at the attitudes of blacks in rural Georgia is the extent to which ingroup consciousness, race pride, collective orientations and self-sufficiency serve as ordering devices that instruct black political action. The above frame of reference serves to instruct this dissertation.

CHAPTER II

THE PREDOMINANTLY RURAL BI-RACIAL COUNTY: THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL SETTING

The importance of the situational context as an intervening variable in the development of political identity has become a widely accepted fact of political analysis. One not only learns his political role from the particular social position that he occupies in society, but that role is mediated through the perception of the immediate situation.[1] This chapter is devoted to looking at the demographic and political setting as the immediate situational context within which the political orientations of blacks in rural Georgia operate.

The static context of predominantly rural Georgia, the rural non-farm character of the black population in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties, and the non-self-sustaining nature of the predominantly rural economy are discussed under the topic entitled demographic setting. In that section we also look at the plight of the black business sector. Under the topic political setting, attention is given to the legal structure of county

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[1] Jain Snedlund, "The Problem of What is Learned," Psychological Review 60 (1953): 157-158; Donald R. Mathews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966); Joan E. Lawrence, "White Socialization: Black Reality," Psychiatry 33 (1970): 174-194; and Haynes Walton, Jr., Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1972).

government, political intrigue associated with county government as well as the political culture and race relations structure of rural Georgia. From this political and demographic setting emerge the types of leadership observed in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties. Thus, the last section of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of that leadership with emphasis on the functions served by old-line leaders--the mediators and grassroots mobilizers--and the emergence of new political brokers. Within the context of the demographic and political situation in static rural Georgia, local black leaders lay claim to being the enlightened political opinion influentials of their respective communities.

The Demographic Setting

The static context of the rural black belt. In William Havard's The Changing Politics of the South, Joseph L. Bernd in his article entitled "Georgia: Static and Dynamic" writes:

> Except for the few cities and suburban counties where significant growth took place during the two decades (1950 to 1970), the black belt and areas South and East of the black belt were the poorest, the most rural agriculturally-oriented sections. This is static Georgia, pro-Talmadge in the thirties, forties and fifties except for the Rivers-Thompson enclave of counties in the Lanier and Lowndes County (Valdosta) areas, pro-white supremacy, pro-Griffin in 1954, pro-Goldwater in 1964, pro-Wallace in 1968. . . . Static Georgia in 1960 has a per capita income average of slightly over $1,600 which is only about two-thirds of the national average.[2]

The situational context of this study falls into the geographical region which Bernd describes as "static Georgia." However, while the counties

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[2]William Havard, ed., The Changing Politics of the South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp. 294-365, at p. 308.

covered—Brooks, Burke and Peach—do not represent the extremes described in the above passage, they do contrast markedly with dynamic Georgia. The 1970 Census gives the population of Brooks county as 13,739 with 27.9 percent rural farm and 37 percent rural non-farm, as well as an overall mean family income of $6,158. Burke county, whose population is 18,255, is 21.3 percent rural farm and 48.4 percent rural non-farm. The county's overall mean family income is $6,285. The least rural of the three counties, Peach, has a population of 15,990 and a mean family income of $8,765. Only 7.7 percent of the population is classified as rural farm and 34.4 percent as rural non-farm.[3] Population statistics above show that Brooks, Burke and Peach counties are basically rural since their combined rural farm and rural non-farm population are 64.9 percent, 69.7 percent and 42.1 percent, respectively and none of them has cities in their jurisdiction with a population greater than 10,000.[4]

Black residential patterns. Blacks constitute 46.2 percent of the total population in Brooks county, 60.2 percent of the total population in Burke county and 57.2 percent of the total population in Peach county. Of the blacks in Brooks county, 61.2 percent live in areas classified as rural. Of the number who dwell in rural Brooks county, 36.5 percent are classified as rural non-farm and 24.7 percent as rural farm. In Burke county 74 percent of the black population reside in rural areas—53.3 percent are rural non-farm and 20.7 percent are rural farm. In

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[3]The mean income among black families in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties are: $3,891, $3,901 and $5,477, respectively.

[4]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

Brooks and Burke counties 38.8 percent and 26 percent of the black population, respectively reside in cities of between 2,500 to 10,000.[5] In Peach county the least rural of the three counties, only 35.1 percent of the black population reside in rural areas. Of that percentage 31.5 percent are classified by the Census as rural non-farm and 3.2 percent rural farm. Approximately 47 percent of all blacks in Peach county live in Fort Valley, which has a population of 9,251 and serves as the county seat; while 6.5 percent live in Byron, a city classified as having a population of between 1,000 and 2,500. (See Table 2) Peach county is the only county in the study to have a town classified in the 1,000 to 2,500 range. While both Brooks and Burke counties have incorporated areas in their jurisdictions other than their county seats--Brooks has one and Burke has four--these places have not warranted separate consideration by the Bureau of Census and appear to be treated in the category of rural non-farm. It is also necessary to note here that persons residing in college dormitories are considered residents of Peach county but are not analyzed according to the rural-urban distribution by the Bureau of the Census.

Statistics show that while the majority of the black population in Brooks and Burke counties and more than a third of the population in Peach county are predominantly rural, the character of that population is basically non-farm oriented. The small farmer in rural Georgia, particularly the black farmer, has evidently suffered the plight of the small

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[5]The cities referred to here are Quitman, the county seat and Brooks county whose population is 4,818; and Waynesboro, the county seat of Burke county whose population is 5,530.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACKS BY LOCATION AND CHARACTER OF RESIDENCE IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Residence	Brooks		Burke		Peach	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Rural Non-Farm	2,317	36.5	5,855	53.3	2,923	31.9
Rural Farm	1,566	24.7	2,279	20.7	293	3.2
Cities 2,500 to 10,000	2,460	38.8	2,854	26.0	4,301	47.0
Towns 1,000 to 2,500					592	6.5
Dormitories					1,043	11.4
Total Black Population	6,343	100.0	10,988	100.0	9,152	100.0

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

businessman everywhere. The 1969 Census of Agriculture reports that between 1964 and 1969, the number of farms in Brooks county dropped from 925 to 766. In Burke county they dropped from 702 to 533 and in Peach county from 258 to 201. (See Table 3) While demonstrating a general decrease in the total number of farms, figures also show a general increase in the number of farms with sales of $2,500 and over.

When one looks at the black labor force one finds that of those employed in Agriculture, 82.6 percent of those in Brooks county, 75.1 percent in Burke county, and all of those in Peach county were classified as wage earners.[6] The mechanization of farming and the advent of large

[6]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF FARMS IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES: 1964 AND 1969

Type Farms	Brooks 1969	Brooks 1964	Burke 1969	Burke 1964	PPeach 1969	PPeach 1964
All Farms	766	925	553	702	201	258
Farms with Sales of $2,500 and over	538	645	344	418	133	133

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1969 Census of Agriculture, Volume 1: Area Reports—Georgia, Section 2 — County Data (Washington; D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

scale competitive farming introduced by agri-business has taken its toll of the ability of the small black free-holder to survive as a farmer. The nuances of subtle discrimination against the small black farmer practiced by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) in the distribution of allotments on Federal Subsidized crops have forced the small black farmer into the non-farm job market in order to subsist. It is not uncommon in both Burke and Brooks counties to find the black rural dweller who commutes to work in non-farm occupations found in surrounding counties, towns or cities. As a way of helping to feed his family and supplementing his income he plants a few acres of vegetables in his spare time. Many of those farming as a sideline were lamenting the fact that the 1974 prices of fertilizers and insecticides were making it more difficult to even pursue this course of action and break even.

Social and Economic and Economic Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972). Brooks county has 684 persons, Burke county 403 and Peach county 206 persons employed in agricultural wage capacity as opposed to 1568, 2192 and 1818 private non-farm wage workers in those counties.

TABLE 4

SELECTED STATISTICS ON THE 1969 BLACK LABOR FORCE IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Type Occupation	Brooks Number	Brooks Percent	Burke Number	Burke Percent	Peach Number	Peach Percent
Total Employed	1951		2690		2873	
Self-employed	124	6.4	181	6.7	61	2.1
Private wage earners	1568	10.4	2192	81.5	1818	63.3
Government Workers	243	12.9	283	10.5	994	34.6
Local Government Workers	171	8.8	173	6.4	146	5.0
Total employed in Agriculture	684		503		206	
Wage earners	565	82.6	378	75.1	206	100.0
Self-employed	103	15.1	125	24.9		

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C: Government Printing Office, 1972).

In 1970 there were only 103 self-employed black farmers in Brooks county, 125 in Burke county and none in Peach county. (See Table 4)

The economic plight of the predominantly rural bi-racial county. Generally, loss of population experienced by the predominantly rural county from one decade to the next is considered evidence of the inability of the local economy to provide adequate livelihood for its citizens. In the case of Brooks county, there was a population loss of 10.2 percent, whole Burke county experienced a loss of 11.4 percent. Only Peach county has experienced a growth. It's growth was 15.5 percent.[7]

[7] Ibid. The 1960 population is given as 15,292, 20.596 and 13,846

TABLE 5

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION CHANGES IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES BETWEEN 1960 AND 1970

County	1960 Number	1960 Percent	1970 Number	1970 Percent	Percent of Change
Brooks County	3711	42.0	3421	40.0	(-) 7.8
Burke County	6600	60.0	5617	53.0	(-) 14.9
Peach County	4562	56.0	5567	55.0	22.0

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

Brooks county experienced a 7.8 percent loss in its black voting age population and Peach county added 22 percent to its black voting age population. (See Table 5.)

The Federal Regional Planning and Development Commission in its economic profile of the Coastal Plains region, has classified both Brooks and Burke counties as primary growth centers, and Peach county as an area center.[8] The Coastal Plains Region includes central-eastern sections of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. In Georgia the Coastal Plains Region follows an east to southwest diagonal line which begins with the northern-most extremities of Richmond county and cuts

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for Brooks, Burke and Peach counties, respectively; while the 1970 population is 13,739, 18,255 and 15,990. One might conject that in the case of Peach county the fact that students were now listing their college addresses as their place of domicile helps to account for Peach county's population gain.

[8]Charles F. Floyd, R. James Heyl and James A. Barnes, Economic Profile of the Coastal Plains Region (Athens: Division of Research, College of Business Administration, University of Georgia, January, 1970), p. 110. This type of growth center designation placed upon a

across to Muscogee County and encompasses all points south of the above-mentioned line. This geographical area makes up the Atlantic Coastal Plains Region.

The non-self-sufficiency of the predominantly rural economy is demonstrated by the fact that when one studies the 1960 and 1970 commuting flow patterns, all three counties exported more into the work force of surrounding counties than came into their counties to work. (See Table 6.) In spite of the 11.4 percent population loss between 1960 and 1970 in Burke county, the county was exporting 945 more people into the labor market of surrounding counties in 1970 than in 1960. During that same period Peach county exported 682 more of its labor force to surrounding counties, while Brooks county, showing the smallest increase over the decade, exported only 103 persons more in 1970 than in 1960 into the labor force of surrounding counties.

The employment picture is particularly dismal for blacks, especially the black male. For instance, women constitute 77.5 percent of those employed by the three biggest industries in Brooks county and 83.7 percent of those employed by the three biggest industries in Burke county. Only in Peach county can the ratio of male to female employees hired by the three biggest industries be seen to decrease to 46.0 percent. The implication of this for the black male is that even if racism did not operate to discriminate against blacks and the black male took his chances along

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county determines its proportion of federal monies for construction of new highways, industrial trade centers or districts, and other physical improvements necessary to industrial growth.

TABLE 6

COMMUNITY FLOW PATTERNS IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES FOR 1960 AND 1970

County	1960[a]			1970[b]		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Brooks County	122	659	-594	222	762	-539
Burke County	376	451	- 75	399	1396	-997
Peach County	638	1012	-374	475	1694	-1219

[a]Statistics from the Office of Business Economics, Growth Patterns In Employment by County, 1940 - 1950 and 1950 - 1960, Volume 5: The Southeast (Washington, D. C.: Government, 1965).

[b]Figures from the Office of Planning and Budget, 1970 Commuting Patterns in Georgia (Atlanta: State Demographic Data Center, May, 1973).

with the rest of the male population, he would stand less of a chance of finding employment in Brooks and Burke counties. Available data do not allow us to analyze the job categories by sex, race or the extent to which underemployment persists. (See Table 7.) However, underemployment was cited as one of the major problems of the Atlantic Coastal Plains Region by the Regional Development Commission.

The black business sector. A basic assumption underlying studies of black political development is that the development of an independent black business sector helps to decrease the vulnerability of blacks, particularly black leadership, to the whims or caprices of the white community.[9] This in turn frees them for more effective political partici-

[9]Martin Kilson, "Political Change in the Negro Ghetto, 1900-1940's," in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume II: Since 1965, eds. Nathan Huggins, Martin Kilson and Daniel M. Fox (Atlanta: Harcourt,

TABLE 7

INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN BROOKS, BURKE AND AND PEACH COUNTIES

Industries	Brooks	Burke	Peach
Total Number	12	23	20
Number of Female Employees	295	1120	620
Number of Male Employees	202	670	1475
Number of Industries employing a minimum of 2 or less females	8	8	11
Number of Industries with less than 20 employees	6	11	10
Number of Industries with 20 to 49 employees	3	2	3
Number of Industries with 50 to 90 employees	1	4	3
Number of Industries with 100 or more employees	2	6	4
Ratio of Female to Total Employees in the Largest Industry[a]	140/150	390/470	90/806
Ratio of Female to Total Employees in 2nd Largest Industry[b]	99/134	288/314	259/375
Ratio of Female to Total Employees in 3rd Largest Industry[c]	25/38	165/255	200/300

[a]Refers to the Quitman Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of mens and boys pajamas in Brooks county; The Keller Aluminum Chairs Eastern, Manufacturers of Aluminum furniture and building props in Burke county, and Bluebird Body company, manufacturers of school bus bodies, chassis and beverage truck bodies.

[b]Refers to Weeks Textile Company, manufacturers of draperies, curtain and bedsreads in Brooks county; Burke Manufacturing Co., manufacturers of menswear; and Bibb co., Fort Valley Plant, manufacturers of bedspreads and draperies.

[c]Refers to the Gold Kist Fish Processing Plant, whose name is self explanatory, in Brooks county; The Samson Manufacturing Co., manufacturers of curtains and draperies in Burke county and Southern State Canning Company, a peach cannery in Peach county.

pation. The black business sectors in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties is nominal. The black community is either unable or unwilling to economically sustain more than a small number of black businesses in these communities. The service businesses which have survived integration because of their convenience or by catering to specialized clienteles are the most numerous. There are the funeral homes—all three counties manage to support more than one funeral home, beauty and barber shops, contractors, restaurants, neighborhood commissaries, and night club establishments, as well as a host of illegal businesses (such as people who deal in illegal alcohol, prostitution and gambling).[10] These businesses are common to all three counties. Brooks county also boasts of having a black shoe shop and a teen fashion-record shop, while Peach has a black veterinary hospital, a variety store and several realtors. The number of people that black-owned businesses provide employment for is negligible. Most are family operated. Their real political value seems to be their potential as centers for communication in the black community by virtue of the contact which the owner-operator has with various segments and strata in the black community.

In the black rural community other factors in the vulnerability equation are the number of blacks who commute to nonrural jobs outside the jurisdiction of the local power structure, i.e., to other counties,

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Brace and Javanovich, Inc., 1971), pp. 167-192; also see Everett Carll Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South (New York: Atheneum, 1966).

[10]See Alfred B. Clubok, John M. DeGrove and Charles D. Farris, "The Manipulated Negro Vote: Some Pre-conditions and Consequences," in The American South in the 1960's, ed. Avery Leiserson (New York: Fred Praeger, Publishers, 1965), pp. 112-129. The susceptibility of these merchants to political manipulation by the agencies of law enforcement and justice and their political value as grassroots mobilizers in the black community on behalf of their manipulators was one of the basic themes of this article.

towns and cities; the number of blacks who work for the Federal government or who are in government jobs not under the supervision of the local government; and the number of blacks who have offset their economic vulnerability by cultivating political leverage outside the local community with national and state civil rights organizations; pressure groups or federal agencies. Unfortunately available statistical data do not allow for conclusions regarding these economic dimensions of vulnerability. The political dimensions are discussed under the section on the rise of black political brokers and in Chapter IV, under the section on political participants.

The Political Setting

The legal structure of county government. Legally, in Georgia, county government functions as both an administrative subdivision of the state, and as a unit of local government with certain powers of its own. County officers are formally charged with the execution of the policies of the state and the administration of general local laws enacted by the state legislature—the General Assembly. As a unit of government, the county levies taxes and performs certain services for local inhabitants. Most Georgia counties are governed by a board of three or five commissioners elected from the county at large.[11] Brooks, Burke and Peach

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[11] 26 counties in Georgia have only one county commissioner. Of that number 3 have advisory boards and 1 has a board of finance. A recent statute passed during the 1974 session of the General Assembly changed the title of County Ordinary to Judge of Probate Court and outlawed their right to serve as county commissioner. Still the most recent information available through the Office of the Secretary of State lists one county—Towns— whose main governing officer is the County Ordinary. Georgia also has one combination city-county government, i.e., Muscogee county. See Ben W. Fortson, Georgia Official Directory of State and County Officials (Atlanta: Office of the Secretary of State, April 1, 1974), pp. 56-66.

counties fall into this category. County government is financed chiefly from funds derived from the general property tax and grants from the state. Certain county officers are supported by fees collected from individuals for services rendered. County financial policies are determined by the Commissioners of Roads and Revenues within the limits of state law, with the state constitution specifying purposes for which county taxes may be levied. It is the prerogative of the Commissioners to determine the rate of tax and whether or not any taxes shall be levied at all for those purposes authorized but not required by law.

Major functions generally falling within the purview of county government are the administration of public welfare, the administration of public education, the administration of public health, the construction and maintenance of local roads, the administration of justice within its jurisdiction, and in cooperation with the state, the support of public libraries. The construction and maintenance of local roads is a major county function in Georgia. In fact, this is the function from which the Board of Commissioners takes it name. County funds for roads are derived from the general property tax and from state grants. Since 1922 the state has followed a practice of sharing a portion of the proceeds from the state fuel-oil tax with the counties to be spent on county roads. Also county governments now have available to them federal funds funneled to them through the state under the revenue-sharing program.

In fulfilling its responsibility for the administration of justice, each county is required to construct and maintain a courthouse and a jail as well as to levy taxes to defray certain administrative expenses

of state courts held in the county.[12]

In actual practice county governments in Georgia operate with considerably more autonomy than the formal rules would lead one to believe. Professor Donald Fairchild argues that the Georgia Constitution's application of the principle of separation of powers to state government has had the effect of federalizing the relationships between the state and Georgia's local governments. The result of which has been the virtual independence of local politics from state authority. This in turn has prepared the way for the rise of various elites not dependent upon a hierarchy of authority for perpetuation of power.[13] In fact, the way was paved for the emergence and perpetuation of local feudal arrangements that are the foundation of patron-client relationships under the southern clientage system.

Each of the counties in this study contain within its jurisdiction one city of 2,500 to 10,000 in population which in addition to serving as the county seat of the county is a municipal corporation in its own right. Whereas counties have a quasi-corporate status as described above, the Georgia Constitution has provided for the self-government of municipalities.[14] Each of the three counties also contains at least

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[12]The state court of general jurisdiction is the Superior Court whose general court officers, include a solicitor general, Superior court clerk, sheriff, court bailiffs, stenographers, who are locally chosen through election or appointment, ibid., 11-19 and 48-56.

[13]Donald L. Fairchild, "The Political Culture of Georgia," in Focus on the Future of Georgia 1970-1985, eds., William H. Schabacker, Russell C. Clark and Homer C. Cooper (Atlanta: Advisory Commission on Educational Goals, State Board of Education, 1970), pp. 382-398, at p. 389.

[14]See Georgia, Constitution, art. XV, sec. 1.

one other smaller municipality. Most black political efforts in the electoral arena tend to crystalize around these cities and towns.

County government and political intrigue. Most students of rural political systems agree that in addition to its formal role in the administration of state and county business, the courthouse is the center of political intrigue in the county. Lancaster in describing the operation of an unofficial "invisible government" in the hands of the county "courthouse gang" offers the following account:

> This gang may be described as a more or less permanent group of elective and appointive officeholders together with private individuals whose business normally brings them into contact with public officials. Among the latter will usually be found contractors, interested in county road and bridge construction, printers who want county contracts and favors in passing out of jobs too small to require competitive bidding, purveyors of various supplies used in the county buildings and institutions, lawyers in criminal and probate work, ex-officials who have grown old in party service and who have become masters of the lower sorts of intrigue and so habituated to playing politics as to make residence at the county seat a psychological necessity, bankers likely to sustain close relations to the county treasurer in the not too vain hope that they may 'take care of' public funds at a profit for themselves, and a ragged company of lesser fry attracted to the county town in hope of eking out an uncertain income by jury duty, custodial position, and other pickings.[15]

To the county courthouse runs the tangled threads of influence and power, of favoritism and discipline by which the Southern rural political machine is kept in tact. Those in office have in their charge large amounts of public property as well as the disposal of large sums of public money with which to build their influence bases. Fairchild hints at chicanery when he observes that:

> The seedbed of political culture in the agrarian environment is the local courthourse in which the elite seek ways to per-

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[15]Lane W. Lancaster, Government in Rural America, 2nd ed. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1952), pp. 57-58.

> petuate power without entering into contests with the mass, while the newly enfranchised are exposed to the rapid political socialization process of local politics.[16]

Meanwhile, Bollens in his discussion on the power of county governing boards indicates that:

> They can be particularly jealous of their power to control road and highway work in their districts. The use of this authority is a source of personal influence. Often county officials gain power beyond the prerogatives of their office as a result of being entrenched in their position so long that they gain extensive knowledge of county affairs and widespread contact with people who affect county government.[17]

Rural political culture. Students of southern politics generally agree that one of the major characteristics of the rural southern mentality is parochialism, i.e., a tendency to evaluate all political activity from the perspective of the norms operating at the local level.[18] An extensive treatment of political culture in Georgia done by Donald Fairchild puts forth the argument that political culture in Georgia is the persistence of the agrarian culture in Georgia long after the period in which the rest of the nation had developed an industrial culture. His description of agrarian culture draws upon James Madison's arguments in The Federalist Papers on behalf of the agrarian elite of 1787, in which the Constitution is set forth as a means of controlling the plural society so as to minimize the ability of factions to interfere with the unitary authority imposed by the central government under the federal system. He

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[16]Fairchild, "The Political Culture of Georgia," p. 387.

[17]John C. Bollens, American County Government (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1970), p. 71.

[18]Fairchild, "The Political Culture of Georgia,"; also see V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1949); and William Havard, ed., The Changing Politics of the South, pp. 294-365.

traces the agrarian elite to the formation of the Federalist party and from there to its transformation into the Whigs and finally the industrial elite to the Republican party. Its opposition, the Democratic party, was first generated as a means of accommodating the contest for power among elites without courting the destruction of the system. This party argues Fairchild, became the party which represented the mass strata of society, e.g., those not fully assimilated and who needed politics to help them achieve social mobility.

According to Fairchild, the consequence of the defeat of the Confederacy was to place the South outside the mainstream of industrial development in the post-Civil War period and thereby prolong the dominance of the agrarian environment into the post-industrial or technological age. Thus, he sees the political orientations of Georgians in basically this rural agrarian context, i.e., of elitism vs masses with the following attitudes dominant:

(1) Perception of the function of government as mainly <u>control</u>, i.e., one is led to look with suspicion on attempts by authorities to extend the range of services beyond the minimum required for transportation and sanitation;

(2) See the function of agents of socialization as assuring conformity with continuity in the customs, mores, laws and procedures developed over time and venerated more for their antiquity than their relevance;

(3) Deference toward constituted authority;

(4) Loyalty to political personalities with minimization of issue differences;

(5) Perceives the basic obligation to the public as fulfilled when government is able to <u>contain</u> the inherent conflict among groups by simply preventing the confrontation between haves and have nots.

The dominant mode of political action is control of the masses by the elite. This political action seeks to: (1) limit the extent to which external power can be imposed over the arbitrary power of the local elite; (2) order potential conflict at a minimum level by keeping the different strata or groups in society isolated from one another; (3) control, by procedural means, the extent to which radical demands can be made; (4) encourage the out-migration of those who lose out in the contests for power; and (5) control political recruitment through procedural proscriptions.[19] These views are not unlike the conclusions the present author reached concerning the race relations structure in rural Georgia.

The structure of race relations: the Clientage System. The relationship among blacks and whites in rural Georgia bears remarkable similarities with that observed by John Duncan Powell in his study, "Peasant Society and Clientage Politics." The social caste system together with the economics of institutionalized racism that operates in the whole of American society, and intensified in the bastions of rural conservatism, combines with the personalized styles of leadership practices in the rural Georgia political arena to produce all three of these factors which Powell notes in the patron-client relationship. Powell points out that at "The core of the patron-client relationship lies three basic factors which at once define and differentiate it from other power relationships." Those three factors are: (1) Unequal status between patron and client; (2) Reciprocity in exchange of non-comparable goods and services, in which the client receives material goods and services, intended to reduce or

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[19]Fairchild, "The Political Culture of Georgia," passim.

ameliorate his environmental threats while the patron receives less tangible rewards such as personal services, indications of esteem, deference, loyalty, or services of a direct political nature such as voting; (3) the relationship is maintained and developed through face to face contact and thus relies heavily on proximity of the parties involved, with exchanges between the two being intimate and highly particularistic.[20]

The Southern landed interests—the agrarian elite and mentors of southern traditionalism—are to black and poor whites in rural Georgia what the landed patrons of Spain, Portugal and Latin America are to their respective peasantry. White landed interests stand at the boundaries of their respective communities as "gatekeepers" in the face of the twin processes of penetration by state and federal governments, and penetration of outside commercial and industrial interests.

As the clientage systems operates within the context of the Southern race relations structure the following applies:

As Patrons, Whites may Expect:	As Clients, Blacks may Expect:
1. Power and prestige. Unquestioned trust in their transaction of the public business and belief in their right to hold positions of power.	1. Distribution of goods and services. Provisions of such things as minimal shelter on the patron's place, subsistence wages, extension of credit in purchasing clothing, food, etc.
2. Client acceptance of injustices accruing to them philosophically as simply the order of things which cannot be changed.	2. Considerable latitude in the exercise of such activities as drinking, carousing and partying, fighting and brawling, betting and gamblings, etc.

[20] John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientage Politics," American Political Science Review 64, No. 2 (June, 1970): 411-425.

3. Love and Affection. To be acknowledged as the benevolent patron by their black clients.

4. Residential blacks to refrain from breaching racial etiquette or challenging the racial code of ethics.

3. Immediate, but limited, material rewards such as money for their political support and vote.

The white community uses a variety of social control mechanisms in order to keep the race relations structure in tact. Some of the more common mechanisms found operating in black communities of this study are:

(1) Rigid control over the economic resources in the county including the job market and the extension or withholding of credit as weapons for encouraging the out-migration of the educated young black adult population who might bring new ideas into the community;

(2) Individual acts of violence, and harassment by law enforcement officials also act as negative sanctions to encourage the out-migration of those who defy the race relations code;

(3) Ordering political conflict at the minimal level by (a) carefully selecting scandals and rumors designed to create distrust among black leadership and the masses, (b) selective publication of political and social events of the black community which offer the least threat to the white white community, (c) delaying and postponing dealing with crises until the immediacy of the problem in the minds of the public has dissipated;

(4) Rewarding those leaders who abide by the racial code and who accept the basic plan for the apportionment of resources with social recognition and economic gains.

Given the above situational context, a useful frame of reference for looking at black politics in rural Georgia is as another extension of the power struggle between black leaders on the one hand the agrarian elite along with its agents on the other. Black leaders struggle to take over the representational functions presently being performed by the agrarian elite. They seek to represent themselves and the black com-

munity more adequately in the establishment of linkages within the larger political and economic systems. White leaders act in manners to preserve their superordinate positions. This theory of black politics in the rural context is within the purview of the frames of reference for black politics articulated by both Mack H. Jones and Haynes Walton, Jr. Mack Jones hypothesizes that:

> . . . black politics in the South ought to be conceptualized as a power struggle between whites motivated by the canons of white supremacy seeking to maintain superordinancy at the expense of their black compatriots and the latter trying to throw off white domination.[21]

While Haynes Walton, Jr., says:

> Black politics is a function of the particular brand of segregation found in different environments in which black people find themselves.[22]

Political Leadership in the Black Community

Old line black leaders: the mediators and the grassroots mobilizers. Black political leadership gets its style from the functions it performs in regard to the rural clientage system. One can readily identify four major functions performed by leaders in the black community. (Different leaders specialize in particular functions.) Those functions are:

(1) Acting as mediators between blacks and local government, particularly the agencies of law enforcement and justice;

(2) Grassroots mobilization of blacks and clientele aggregation;

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[21]Mack H. Jones, "Black Officeholders in Local Governments of the South: An Overview," in Politics, 1971, Problems of Political Participation (Greenville, N. C.: East Carolina University Press, March, 1971), p. 51.

[22]Haynes Walton, Jr., Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis, p. 11.

(3) Defensive pursuance of equitable treatment for blacks at the hands of local government and economic system;

(4) Linkage of the black community with the larger society in the procurement of new social services, more efficient and adequate existing services, additional revenue for the economy, etc.—the brokerage function.

The first visible political leaders in the black rural community were mediators, usually black businessmen, who had developed a wide variety of social acquaintances in the black community in the course of operating their businesses and who were called upon to intercede on behalf of members of the black community with the local political officials. The role of bail-bondsman is a good case in point in this line of leadership. In Burke county, a picture evolved (resulting from stories of several informants) of a unique type of county civic association, rivaling the Burke County Civic Improvement Association, based on this type of leadership. The organization offers bail-bondsman protection to its members who pay monthly dues. It also provides other social services such as sick and accident assistance and death benefits. Those informants among the county's leadership tended to speak of the organization with disfavor, and generally pointed out that they thought the goals of the organization encouraged the moral degeneration of the community as well as allowing said leader to peddle his influence to the highest bidder for personal gain. Non-leadership informants, however, generally looked upon the organization with considerable favor as providing a useful service. The fact that the organization was known over a larger geographical area

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[23]The organization's leadership refused to consent to a questionnaire interview. Therefore, information obtained is through other leadership informants and respondents who happened to be members of the organization.

(with dues paying members) than most other organizations in the county whose goals were more symbolic or future-oriented, tends to be an indication that blacks in the rural or the predominantly rural setting value immediate material rewards over long-ranged promises from the black leadership.

Because of the nature of the race relation structure in the rural South, the black business community also contains a number of quasi-legal businesses which although not entitled to an official business license, are allowed to exist through special arrangements with local law enforcement agencies. "Red light houses" (the rural version of the hot-bed motel), "shot houses" (the rural version of the speak-easy), and "skin houses" (the rural version of the gambling houses), "the bolita men"—are all quasi-legal businesses whose operators, by virtue of their preferred status with law enforcement officials, have tremendous political pull as mediators on behalf of their clientele in the local criminal justice system. Leadership provided by this segment of the black community is low profile and discrete leadership.

With the acceptance of Negro voting as a legitimate activity another function of leadership emerges in the black community—that of grassroots electoral mobilization. Those who can deliver the vote at election time are in great demand by political candidates. In this connection, a type of leadership developed which, contrary to the observations of Everett Carll Ladd, cannot be called issue leadership.[24] Instead, mass mobilization as it operates in the rural political setting takes advantage of

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[24]Everett Carll Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South (New York: Atheneum, 1969), chap. 3.

loyalty of clientele to their sponsors or patrons. This tends to point up the fact that social and political power in the rural black community is not so much a matter of issues as it is of one's strategic location at centers of social interaction.

Grassroots mobilizers serve a valuable but discrete function to rural white leadership who in its intra-factional battles need the additional votes but not the public avowals of support. To have public avowals on the part of the black community would be to open ones self to the charges of "nigger-lover." A political and social gaffe of this sort is to be avoided at all cost because it solidifies the white community in the opposition's camp. Within the confines of the race relations structure, the black grassroots mobilizers achieves added social status with white leadership because of his potential. This is why one finds that a common source of friction among black leadership occuring once the county civic association has decided which candidates to urge the black community to support is the mad race among leadership to get to those candidates and claim the credit as the prime movers behind such support. Charges of this kind of activity were heard in all three counties.

The emergence of black political brokers in the rural context. The last two functions performed by black leaders are in part the result of the process of political modernization in the black community. Accomplished through the intervention of the federal government, the civil rights struggle, and the black power movement, the process of political modernization brought into being a style of leadership which both competes with and challenges the old gatekeeper function of the white patron of the agrarian elite. This style of leadership exists along side the old

line leadership and competes with it for the loyalty of the black masses. Black political brokers are rivals of both the white patron and black old line leaders for the position of agent in the linkage between the locally conscribed political and economic system and the larger society. Through the unification of political efforts in the black community via means of county civic association, voter registration drives and political education they strive to maximize the political gains of the black community. The degree of boldness with which black political brokers pursue their activities is a function of the extent of vulnerability of the leaders and the severity of the social controls exercised by the agrarian elite. Leadership in Brooks county tended to be the least bold of the three counties, while leadership in Burke exhibited the most militance in its approach. Drawing a great deal of leadership from the middle-class professionals employed by government, Peach county's leadership displays a caution born of their vulnerability to the loss of their livelihoods due to violations of state and federal laws regarding perceived conflicts of interest between politics and civil service, or politics and education. The infamous Hatch Act prohibits some of the civic activity as mentioned above.

Blacks have always looked upon the federal government as a friendly intervener in local affairs as federal officials went about the business of trying to modernize the nation. Three forms of federal intervention have greatly affected the quality of politics in rural Georgia. They are: (1) The Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the resultant federal enforcement efforts; (2) Federal enforcement of public school desegreation and (3) The centralized planning and development movement encouraged by

the federal government and which resulted in the division of Georgia into planning and development districts. The commission set up in each district were designated as the review agency of local applications for federal funds.

Many students of Southern politics have noted the significance of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in increasing black political participation in the South.[25] Voter Education Project gives the pre-1966 number of black elected officials in the eleven Southern states as 72; while since 1969, the number of black elected officials in the South has steadily climbed from 408 to 1,179 in 1973.[26] An investigation of the extent to which rural Georgia, particularly the counties of Brooks, Burke and Peach, have benefitted from the 1965 Voting Rights Act points out some interesting facts.

By the Justice Department's own admission, Georgia counties were low on the priority list for receiving the assistance of federal examiners and observers. Political Participation, a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, contains an excerpt from a memorandum to the Acting Attorney General written in January, 1967 in which the author stated the following in reference to Georgia:

> Georgia counties are small and it takes a lot of shoe leather to cross and recross the state. Georgia has suffered from

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[25]Walton, Black Politics, p. 193; Jones, "Black Officeholders," pp. 81-82; Edward F. Sweat, "State and Local Politics in 1968," in Black America, ed. Patricia W. Romero (Washington, D.C.: Pioneer Paperbooks, 1969), pp. 113-145, at p. 135; and Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, Climbing Jacob's Ladder (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967).

[26]Voter Education Project, Roster of Black Elected Officials in the South, 1974 (Atlanta: Voter Education Project, Inc., 1974). An April 6, 1975 press release indicated that the number of black elected

> neglect of enforcement program. Ever since I've been here we have always given high priority to Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.[27]

This statement is borne out of the facts reported in the Commission's report which shows only three Georgia counties receiving federal examiners. They were Lee, Terrell, and Screven counties. Only one county received federal observers, i.e., Hancock county on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of November, 1966. Thus one is not surprised to find reported that only three counties outside the Metropolitan counties of Fulton-Atlanta, Richmond-Augusta, Chatham-Savannah, and Muscogee-Columbus had, at the time of the report's publication (May, 1968), blacks elected to public office. Those counties were Hancock, Liberty and McIntosh.[28]

What did the Voting Rights Act of 1965 mean to the three counties involved in this study? We have presented in Table 8 statistics for Brooks, Burke and Peach counties as they appear in Political Participation. The report shows that in Brooks county the number of blacks registered to vote increased from 445 to 940, i.e., from 12 percent of the 1960 voting age population to 25.3 percent of the 1960 voting age population; while white registration increased from 3,097 to 3,545 or from 61.2 percent of the 1960 voting age population to 70.1 percent of

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officials in the South has climbed to 1,307 in 1974 and 1,588 in 1975. See The Atlanta Constitution, (April 6, 1975), p. 18C.

[27]United States Commission on Civil Rights, Political Participation (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 169.

[28]Ibid., p. 212

TABLE 8

VOTER REGISTRATION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTY, GEORGIA BEFORE AND AFTER THE 1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT

	1960 VAP		Pre-Act Registration		Post-Act Registration	
County	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,097	445	3,545	945
Burke	4,358	6,600	3,664	427	4,346	2,760
Peach	3,650	4,563	2,539	679	3,034	1,805

Source: U. S. Department of Justice as of August 31, 1967 as reported in Table 7 of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Political Participation (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 232-239.

the 1960 voting age population. In Burke county, known black belt territory, the number of black registered to vote increased from 427 to 2,760, i.e., from 6.5 percent of the 1960 voting age population to 41.8 percent of the 1960 voting population; and characteristically, white registration increased from 84.1 percent of the 1960 voting age population to 99.7 percent of the 1960 voting age population. The number of blacks registered to vote in Peach county increased from 679 to 1,805 (from 14.9 percent of the 1960 voting age population to 39.6 percent of the 1960 voting age population); while white registration increased from 2,539 to 3,034 or from 69.6 to 83.1 percent of the 1960 voting age population[29]

Although there appears to have been a period of heightened political interest in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties following the 1965 Voting Rights Act with political interest more than doubling in the black

[29] Ibid., pp. 232-239.

community, whites in those counties reacted characteristically. In Burke county, white registration increased so much that almost 100 percent of the 1960 voting age population were registered to vote, in addition to which rumors began to circulate in the black community that one could not vote unless his taxes were paid up. In Peach county the "purge" became a weapon to control black registration. In Brooks county, because of its relative geographical isolation, traditional patron-client relationships were so entrenched that the black leadership could be relied on to keep its race in line.[30]

In the wake of the 1965 Civil Rights Act, the heightened political awareness sweeping the South and the nation, the youth of Brooks county called for the integration of public accommodations in the city of Quitman. Some of the county's black leaders, fearful of the disturbance of patron-client relations felt compelled to purchase a full page advertisement in the Quitman Free Press to express their disapproval. (See Appendix I) The advertisement called upon black citizens of Quitman and Brooks county to refrain from attempting to test the "civil rights law."

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[30]It should be noted that Burke County, in addition to being close to Augusta, is next door to Screven county which received federal examiners. Its most dynamic political leaders are persons with economic ties either in Augusta, the private secondary school located in the Northwest section of the county, or are employed by the federal or state government. Peach county, in addition to having a predominantly black state college located there, is roughly 30 miles away from both Macon-Bibb county, and the federal installation, Warner Robbins Air Force Base. But the closest Metropolitan center to Brooks county is across the state line and eighty miles away, i.e., Tallahassee, Florida. One must acknowledge that the county adjoins Lowndes and Thomas counties, both of which contain two medium-sized cities which serve as economic host communities for blacks who can't find work in Brooks county; but both of these counties are conservative. This section of the state was one of the last strongholds of lynching as reported by Robert Brisbane, The Black Vanguard (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1970), p. 75.

It alluded to the "good relations" that existed between the races for the several years, and reaffirmed their trust in the "duly authorized law enforcement officers" and promised cooperation in preserving law and order in keeping the peace. For this action they were commended by the white community for waiving their personal rights and rebuking their fellow blacks in full page advertisement appearing one week later. Citations from the Holy Scriptures were invoked to justify the correctness of black leadership's position. (See Appendix I).

The intervention of the federal government in public school desegregation has affected subtle changes in the rural political equation. For the most part, the desegregation movement only reached rural Georgia in the wake of the civil rights movement of the early sixties, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the "war on poverty" legislation. As a result of the heightened awareness of federal money to be enjoyed through OEO programs, many black leaders became brokers for their communities in bringing into their local economies such things as Title III money for teaching materials and equipment, subsidized meals, teacher aid programs, and Head Start. In other communities the Area Planning and Development Commission (APDC) performed this function.

One can distinguish three phases of federal intervention in the desegregation of public schools. First, came token integration and "freedom of choice" when the federal government, through HEW, allowed local systems to enjoy the use of federal money while circumventing the spirit of the law. Pressure at the national and local levels brought this phase to an end. During that time a number of cases originated in local rural communities challenging token integration and "freedom of choice." The

second phase involved closer supervision by the federal government, through HEW and the Justice Department, and resulted in the withdrawal of federal funds where the desegregation plan was discovered to circumvent the law. The third phase occurred when the federal government, under the Nixon administration, moved to compel state-wide affirmative action in integration, (using a formula of mathematic ratios) by serving Southern governors with notice of their responsibility for the actions of local school systems in their states. This action was followed up with the extention of federal "easement" funds to local systems.

What was the result of these moves in the rural black community? Just as the 1965 Voting Rights Act resulted in the establishment of civic leagues, civic improvement associations, and citizenship education committees, all of which functioned as recruiters and clearing agencies for black and white candidates in the electoral arena as they strove to unify and expand the black vote through voter registration drives and political education, so the desegregation movement added another function for those organizations, i.e., acting as a coordinator of protest group activity in aid of federally instigated desegregation and the quest for equitable distribution of benefits from federal funds.[31] They also, in many instances, monitor the community for signs of prejudice by white school officials in the treatment of black children. In performing this function, rural black leaders cultivate liasons with numerous national organizations including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Fed-

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[31] See Jones, "Black Officeholders in Local Governments of the South: An Overview," pp. 53-55.

eration of Southern Cooperatives, as well as HEW and the Justice Department. Successes in the arena allowed black leaders to extend their influence in the black community where no black elected officials existed.

Burke county presents an interesting case at point. The Civic Improvement Association came into being in the wake of the civil rights movement of the early sixties and has enjoyed its greatest successes in the realm of protest politics. The organization claims credit for challenging segregation in Burke county schools, abolishing discrimination in the hiring policies of chain food stores, supporting unionization of several local businesses, and protesting the blatant exhibition of racism by school officials and the white community. It has been instrumental in initiating into the county, poverty programs such as Head Start, National Youth Corps (NYC), food stamps, and adult vocational training programs. It is also responsible for the establishment of the Southeastern Georgia Farmer's Cooperative. The activism of the Burke County Civic Improvement Association forced the white community to establish a bi-racial committee.

Although the Civic Improvement Association also operates in the area of electoral politics, it has been unable to make any gains. Several factors are against it in its efforts. First, the sheer size of the county requires tremendous attention to physical resources in political efforts at grass roots mobilization. The second factor is the strength of the existing patron-client relationships. One leader remarked that in spite of the low median income of the county reported by the 1970 Census, anyone who was not just "too lazy to work" could obtain a decent home and live well in Burke county. The third factor is the existence of competing old line leaders that have more solid bases of power. The

Civic Improvement Association has to compete with black leaders chosen by whites and who are able to extend their power bases in the black community by virtue of the strategic social positions they occupy.

In the centralized planning movement, the area planning and development commissions, among other things, became both review agencies and technical advisors in local applications for federal grants. In rural counties where blacks have no civil rights leadership, APDC's have been instruments through which the federal government intervened on behalf of the inclusion of blacks on the advisory boards of poverty agencies. Although the purpose of inclusion of blacks was to legitimate such agencies, their appointment had the function of making blacks feel that they had at least been conceded the legitimate right of participation in the decision-making process. On the other hand, it also allowed the white community to select or designate which black leaders were to enjoy the stamp of approval. Black leadership in these counties is still struggling to take form as individual leaders compete with each other first for the endorsement of the white community, and second to solidify their political base and anchor their roots in the black community.

Brooks county is a good example of this. Steeped in traditionalism born of a history of harsh dealings with blacks, black political leadership in Brooks county did not become visible until the right of blacks to participate in political decision-making had been conceded and legitimized by the white community. The Coastal Plains Area Planning and Development Commission, based in Lowndes county, Georgia took the initiative in putting together county-side bi-racial citizen advisory groups in preparation for applying for certain OEO programs such as day care centers, job training for working mothers, etc. As a result, black

leaders in Quitman, the county seat of Brooks county, interviewed in Spring, 1973 indicated that they now felt that the white leadership had become conditioned to accepting them in public office, and had even begun to search for what they considered a suitable candidate. Several of the leaders acknowledged having been approached by various white factions offering to provide financial backing should they consider running.

The Brooks county Civic League which came into being in the late sixties, has mostly operated in the realm of citizenship and voter education. In Quitman they have recruited two black candidates to run for the city council in as many successive city elections, but the black leader who finally won the post did so without the formal endorsement of the Civic League. By the time he had offered himself as a candidate, the Civic League had become beset by internal strife. The president had died and vice president who took over as the new president had little understanding of internal dynamics involved in keeping the group together. The black candidate did not come to the League for endorsement or help, so the new president of the League decided that they would not take any action. However, since the main thrust of the organization was electoral, and there were no other black candidates running, this action virtually deprived the Civic League of its reason for being. Thus one year later, the League existed in name only.

During the heyday of the League, and only after the bold last stage of federal government intervention in desegregation of the public schools, black leaders in Brooks county took on added courage and risked direct confrontation with the Brooks County Board of Education. The actual organization in the forefront was the county chapter of the Georgia Teachers

and Educators Association (GTEA) backed up by the Civic League, and the style of protest was verbal, during which blacks argued the economics, and christian morality of compliance with federal guidelines.

The Fort Valley-Peach County Citizenship Education Commission (CEC) has a history which dates from the early civil rights movement. The main thrust of the organization has been citizenship education and participation in the electoral arena. The involvement of the organization in protest activities has been minimal; limited to the economic boycott, selective buying and sporadic protests over incidents of racism in the public schools. The CEC through its efforts managed to elect a black person to the Fort Valley City Council, who was refused a seat because white officials invoked a section of the city charter forbidding persons who were delinquent in payment of city taxes from voting. In this manner they disqualified a substantial portion of the ballots cast in his favor. Litigation reversed the situation described above to the black official's favor.

In 1970 the advent of student power on the campus of the predominantly black Fort Valley State College resulted in the systematic registration of black students in Fort Valley-Peach County and moved political participation to a new level.[32] An organization called Citizens and Students for a Better Community (CASBC) was formed on the college campus and which initiated the student registration and undertook to coordinate the electoral efforts of the CEC in Fort Valley and the Byron Community

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[32]The college had construed its role as that of maintaining an official posture of non-involvement in local affairs. Certain personnel, however, could be found involved as they demonstrated their "good citizenship."

Center in Byron, Georgia. They recruited candidates for two successive city and county elections, and succeeded in electing two persons to the city council in Fort Valley, along with a black city utilities commissioner in 1972. In 1974 they increased the number of positions held by blacks in local government, in spite of considerable odds.

The demonstration of potential power plus the willingness to act by students at Fort Valley State College brought on characteristic repressive reactions on the part of the white community. In addition to the technicality of refusing to seat the black candidate in 1970 that was mentioned above, the white power structure suddenly found, during the voter registration campaign, that certain of the college dormitories were outside the city limits.[33] They also found an unusually large number of write-in votes during the 1972 city elections that would challenge the seats of black candidates. Then in 1973 the black college was suddenly embroiled in a court suit threatening its very existence (Jack R. Hunnicutt et al vs. W. Lee Burge el al). Whites had perceived that compulsory affirmative integration could function in their favor and consequently they brought suit against the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia asking for a complete erasing of the racial identity of Fort Valley State College. In addition to the usual charge of inferior education, the school was charged with reverse discrimination in keeping

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[33]City limits boundaries were found by the city officials to run right down the middle of one of the girls' dormitories. This pronouncement caused considerable confusion in the voter registration drive as to who was eligible to register in city elections and who was not. Other dormitories were found to be definitely outside the city limits.

whites out of positions of authority. The suit launched at the very time that the executive leadership of the college was in transition due to the approaching retirement of President Blanchett. A highly unstable situation existed all around. Since a great deal of the political energies were generated at the college by students and a small core of faculty advisors, the effect was to diminish the time available to spend in community organization. One also notes that uncertainty about the future of the college greatly affected enrollment.[34] In addition, the cut-back in faculty and personnel has been made the pretext for ridding the campus of political activists.

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[34]The pre-1972 enrollment of the school was estimated at approximately 2,500 while the June Issue of the System Summary report the 1973-74 enrollment of the college to be 1,879. See Board of Regents, The System Summary, June, 1974 (Atlanta: University System of Georgia, 1974).

CHAPTER III

BLACK POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL GEORGIA

The milieu of southern politics has been described by some as a traditional system in the process of modernization. Changes in the demographic and political setting of southern politics have been likened to the process of modernization observed in developing countries.[1] Differences between the rural south and urban south are seen as epitomizing the contrasts between traditional society and modern society.

Viewed in this light the demographic and political features which have been discussed in Chapter II constitute some of the main characteristics common to indices used in contrasting traditional with modern society. Characteristics usually include information on the division of labor, the state of technology, the degree of urbanization, the economy, the system of social stratification, education and communication, and values.[2] The implication is that social and economic development

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[1] See Arthur Goldschmitt, "The Development of the U. S. South," Scientific American 209 (September 1963): 224-32; and Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro: From Exclusion to Big City Organization (New York: Random House, 1969), Chapter II, at pp. 310-318.

[2] Joseph A. Kahl, The Measurement of Modernization: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 4-6.

interact with one another to either promote or inhibit its long-run transformation. These forces are also seen as interacting to promote or inhibit short-run individual and group social mobility. For these reasons social scientists attach importance to the study of human values accompanying various stages of economic growth.

Rationalizations underlying the study of human values found in various stages of economic growth are based on the assumption that the basic structure of technology and economy place people in social roles which define their interests. Expressions of those interests get "rationalized" (in the Freudian sense) and eventually "institutionalized" (in the Weberian sense) in values.[3] Once established in the minds of men, values take on an independent force all their own with power to stem the tide of technical and economic growth or to imbue men with the zeal to transform the social order.

A developmental frame of reference implies that there has been some sort of progress from one point to another. For that reason this chapter seeks to discuss the concept of the South as a traditional political system and the profiles of the rural black as portrayed in the literature as a basis for contrasting the political orientations of blacks in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties. The portrait of the modal black per-

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[3]Ibid. Kahl conceptualizes values as general orientations toward basic aspects of life that have both a prescriptive and existential component. They not only tell a man how he ought to behave, but they also contain an implication of how the world actually is or is perceived to be. When applied to specific situations, values become norms that generate precise rules of conduct. Our own view of the political orientations necessary for effective black political action falls within this broad definition of values.

sonality in the literature on the traditional South shows blacks to be:

1. Preoccupied with economic survival;
2. Accommodating the deferential in their posture toward whites;
3. Politically apathetic and non-participant oriented;
4. Socialized as parochial subjects of the political system;
5. Grounded in the belief that politics is the paternalistic prerogative of whites, i.e., that politics is white folks' business;
6. Given to using their churches and fraternal organizations as a way of sublimating their political yearnings;
7. Reared in matriarchial families which are both a cause and an effect of their psychological state of mind;
8. Lacking in ambition with a penchant for living life in the present without much thought for the future or getting ahead;
9. Consumed by self-hatred and a desire to emulate whites.[4]

The chapter begins with an exploration into Southern traditionalism as the origin and fermenting ground for the persistence of the above portrait of black orientations. Against this picture we place the record of black political activity in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties. The political history of each county is garnered from the recall of leaders interviewed in each county. This is followed by a short discourse on the extent to which the family and church are supportive of apathetic or participant orientations in the three counties.

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[4]See Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro, chap. 2; and Arthur E. Raper, Preface to Peasantry (New York: Atheneum, 1968), passim.

Characteristics of Southern Traditionalism

Traditional society. Students of the process of modernization in developing countries usually structure their indices around the division of labor, the state of technology, the degree of urbanization, the economy, the system of social stratification, education and communication, and values. Joseph A. Kahl has summarized characteristics common to such indices as follows:

1. The division of labor. The most simple index of this characteristic is the proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture; traditional societies may have 70 to 80 percent of the workers tilling the soil; modern societies can get by with less than 10 percent on the farm. More subtle indices divide the nonagricultural labor forces into traditional sections such as industrial workers, clerks in bureaucracies, and engineers.

2. The state of technology. A traditional society uses customary techniques of production handed down from father to son. A modern society uses sophisticated engineering based upon the latest fruits of world-wide scientific research.

3. The degree of urbanization. Since modern agricultural technology permits a small proportion of the labor force to feed the remainder of the population, using a low ratio of men to land, most of the society becomes urban.

4. The economy. Traditional society is based on localized markets, where much of the production is for a meager level of subsistence, although a plantation type of crop or minerals may enter world markets. Modern society is based on complex commercial markets unifying all parts of the nation; per capita production and consumption are high.

5. The system of social stratification. Traditional society has a range of statuses that reflect the range of positions in the division of labor; there are many, and the distinctions between them are not so sharp. The distribution of prestige, of income, and of power becomes more equalitarian, and the rate of mobility between strata increases.

6. Education and communications. Traditional society is in the main illiterate, although the tiny elite may have a high level of humanistic and legal scholarship. Modern

> society is literate, there is widespread secondary education that blurs the distinction between elite and mass, and the entire system of education moves toward the technical and the pragmatic. The mass media cater to the bulk of the population, cognizant of its primary and secondary education, and they shape thought in new images that replace customary symbols.
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> 7. Values. Traditional values are compulsory in their force, sacred in their tone, and stable in their timelessness. They call for fatalistic acceptance of the World as it is, respect for those in authority, and submergence of the individual in the collectivity. Modern values are rational and secular, permit choice and experiment, glorify efficiency and changes, and stress individual responsibility.[5]

The phenomena of two Georgias—one modern, one traditional—has been attributed to attitude crystalizations resulting from the Civil War and Reconstruction experience. Georgia was one of the twelve states making up the old south. In the heart of the region were approximately 200 counties in which over half the population was black. These counties became known as the black belt. They were the counties in which the slave plantations were located. The black belt is reputed to have contained the most fertile soil of the South and a disproportionate share of its poorest people. Arthur F. Raper in an investigation of two black belt counties in Georgia in 1936 wrote:

> The ownership of the best land is in the hands of a comparatively small group of white families; landlessness and chronic dependence is the lot of over half the white families and nearly nine-tenths of the Colored. The Black Belt is the home of a few planters and many tenants.[6]

The black belt was the center of Southern cotton culture. Cotton was the main money crop responsible for the maintenance of the plantation system. The spell which cotton cast over the farmers in the area

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[5]Kahl, The Measurement of Modernization, pp. 4-6.

[6]Raper, Preface to Peasantry, p. 3.

led to vast misuse of the soil. Exploitation of the land and labor left in its wake depleted soil, shoddy livestock, inadequate farm equipment, crude agricultural practices, crippled institutions and a defeated impoverished people. This was the situation which investigators for the New Deal Administration found in Greene and Macon county, Georgia in 1936.[7] According to Raper the black belt plantation economy was the preface to American peasantry. He argues that before the plantation structure crumbled, the owners dominated the economic and cultural life of the entire community. Their control was such that the majority of plantation folk were little more than feudal serfs comparable to the European sub-peasants. They had no property, they were schooled in dependency, unaccustomed to responsibility and without experience in community leadership. As the plantation crumbled the more enterprising owners and tenants abandoned the scene leaving behind the foundations for American peasantry. Those families left behind became independent renters and/or small owners that eked out a living within the context of what Bernd calls "Static Georgia."[8] The New Deal investigations is in part responsible for the institution of a number of federal subsidy programs as well as other programs of rural uplift. Yet in 1968, the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States focused the nation's attention on 256 "hunger counties" found principally in the

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[7]Will W. Alexander, "Forward", in Preface to Peasantry by Arthur F. Raper, pp. xiv-xvi.

[8]Ibid., pp. 4-5; Also see Joseph L. Bernd, "Georgia Static and Dynamic," in The Changing Politics of the South, ed. William Havard (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp. 294-365.

South and Southwest. These counties were largely rural in population. The Board of Inquiry estimated the chronically malnourished to be about ten million people. Re-examination of rural relief programs of the Department of Agriculture showed that it had functioned to make crop producers richer and contributed to the expendability of the poor black rural dweller. Charles Prejean and associates in commenting on the increasing expendability of the poor black rural dweller in 1968 wrote the following:

> If in the past he had been a farmer, merchanization, shrinkage of cotton allotments, use of herbicites, instead of hoes, retalatory measures for voting, discriminatory policies of bureaus and organizations intended to aid the small farmer, had combined to see that he was a farmer no more.
>
> Futhermore black farm laborers were no longer needed as cotton fields were sown in soybeans or turned into cattle ranches or placed into soil diversion banks. When this last happened landowners were paid not to plant the specified crop. In some cases, as in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 340 large landowners received $6,809,529 for cutting back their cotton acreage. The Black Laborer and tenant got eviction notices.[9]

Since Reconstruction the black belt plantocracy has been able to define the meaning of Southern Conservatism to the nation. the 'new South' leadership which emerged during post-Reconstruction was dominated by men who were eager to shift from a purely agrarian to a diversified economy (including business, railroading, manufacturing, mining and banking). However, that leadership incorporated the old prejudices engendered by plantation culture into its philosophy.[10]

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[9]Charles Prejean and Staff of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, "Rural Poverty—1968 Style," in In Black America, ed. Patricia W. Romero (Washington, D. C.: Pioneer Paperbooks, 1969), p. 242.

[10]Robert Cruden, The Negro in Reconstruction (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1969), Chaps. 5 & 6.

Contrary to popular belief Reconstruction did little to disrupt traditionalism in the South. Robert Cruden points out in his analysis of Reconstruction that contrary to the view that the South was supposedly occupied by hordes of federal troops who supported black political and social aspirations, great areas of the South never ever saw a federal soldier after the war. In other areas troops were withdrawn as soon as stable governments were established. In addition the attitudes of the troops were not especially friendly toward black men.

> . . . enlisted men and officers tended to identify themselves with Southern whites and Southern white interests. Indeed while Andrew Johnson was in office (and that was until March 4, 1869) officers who did not please native whites were apt to find themselves replaced as were John Pope in Georgia and Edward Ord in Mississippi.
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> An extreme but suggestive example of how far some army commanders were willing to go in collaborating with native whites is that of General Alvin C. Gillem, who succeeded Ord in Mississippi. Before the state was readmitted in 1870. Gillem made a deal with Edmund Richardson, a wealthy planter and speculator, whereby the state's convicts—most of whom were black—were turned over to him to work on his plantation, while the state paid him $30,000 a year for maintenance and transportation! It was small wonder that when Gillem was later transferred to Texas, it was 'to the general regret of the Conservative whites.'[11]

The foundation for modern black peasantry was laid by national reconstruction policy. With the exception of two small schemes in South Carolina (which were not lasting), Reconstruction policy failed to provide land for the freedman, thus making them vulnerable at the point of most effective pressure—their ability to make a living. Again there were the crop-lein laws passed during Reconstruction to assure merchants their legal due by compelling debtors to market their crops through their creditors. This tightened the law of contract in such a way as to fasten upon white and black farmers a system of virtual peonage. President

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[11] Ibid., pp. 97-98.

Andrew Johnson and the Union generals also introduced the Convict-leasing systems which, when tied to vagrancy laws, helped the conservatives back to economic and political power. Under this system, blacks were condemned to involuntary servitude on "chain gangs" for the smallest infractions of the law such as being without a job then leased out as labor to white plantations in elaborate arrangements with the state.

The decision to use the old state structure to reconstruct the South provided means whereby Conservatives could capture and control the state with little fear of federal intervention. Tennessee was readmitted to the Union in 1869 before passage of the Reconstructions Acts thus had never known Reconstruction. When Virginia was restored in 1870 Conservatives were already in power. A combination of Conservatives and Republicans in Georgia expelled black legislators after their readmission in 1868. And within a few months following its readmission in 1870 Conservatives were again swept into power. Reconstruction governments in the remaining states ranged from 34 months in the case of Texas (the last state to be readmitted) to approximately 8½ years in Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana.

The fact that reconstruction policy permitted the free expression of opinion and freedom of political organization facilitated the work of the Conservatives in gaining their restoration. They played upon the fact that people in both the South and the North were emotionally exhausted from the war and psychologically yearning for a "return to normalcy." They also made use of the engrossment of Northerners in the social problems of other minorities in the North and West, i.e., the Indians and the wave of immigrants arriving from Europe and the Orient.

Abolitionists, believing that the Fifteenth Amendment had settled the problems of blacks, turned their efforts toward the Indians. The North was also experiencing a great many social problems due, in their opinion, to the great wave of immigrants that began arriving in this country following the Civil War. They had to give their attention to the problems of political corruption, labor unions, poverty, crime and slums. Not the least of these problems was the Panic of 1873 and the ensuing depression which lasted until 1878. This crisis had the effect of refocusing the attention of farmers, workers and businessmen alike upon the literal struggle for survival. In this situation the North and West developed their own hierarchy of racism which shared the Conservative commitment to white supremacy.

In 1874 Democrats captured control of the United States House of Representatives for the first time since 1856 and held that control for six critical years. They outvoted the Republicans in the disputed election of 1876 and forced the infamous unwritten compromise from the Republicans that brought Reconstruction formally to a close.[12] Northern businessmen began to court the Southern Conservatives who had successfully reasserted themselves as the gatekeepers of their states in terms of who could or could not operate in their bailiwicks.

Conservatives combined their collaboration with Northern businessmen, with the invocation of white supremacy, propaganda alleging corruption of Reconstruction governments and racial violence against peaceful white citizens to gain the sympathetic ear of the North and undermine

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[12]Reconstruction formally came to an end on March 4, 1877 with the inauguration of President Rutherford B. Hayes and his immediate withdrawal of the remaining federal troops from the South.

black power. In this they had the help of such famous personages as Horace Greeley who placed at their disposal The New York Tribune. Conservative views also received sympathetic coverage in The Nation and Harper's Weekly. In Georgia, Conservative leaders worked with Hannibal I. Kimbal, Yankee railroad promoter, in a corrupt scheme through which they obtained a highly favorable lease on a state-owned railroad. Collis P. Huntington of the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads allied himself with John B. Gordon in Georgia in the bid for control of a Southern route to the west coast. Tom Scott and Grenville Dodge were also working together with Southern Conservatives to bring off their railroad schemes.[13]

W. J. Cash has demonstrated how the Civil War and Reconstruction had the effect of turning the South economically into a third frontier, the result of which was to broaden the Southern ruling class, but not to alter the conservative character of its ethos.[14] Prior to the Civil War the Southern ruling class was made up mainly of planters who saw themselves as aristocratic, brave, stately, loyal to their friends, exhibiting great personal integrity in their dealings with their fellows, and showing a paternalistic responsibility for the fate of their less fortunate neighbors. This ideal, along with white supremacy and paternalistic prerogative to rule became the ethos of Southern Conservatism as contrasted with Northern liberalism. In the wake of economic devastation which the South experienced during and after the Civil War the stage was set for the

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[13]Cruden, The Negro in Reconstruction, pp. 91-94.

[14]W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), passim.

emergence of two new elements of the ruling class, i.e., the supply merchants and the rising industrialists dominated mainly by the cotton mill industry.[15] Southern conservatism incorporated the predominating theory of progress accompanying the era of "rugged individualism." The new Southern ruling class whose byword was "cheap labor," exploited both whites and blacks alike. The new Southern leadership were the progeny from the plantations, yeomen farmers who had been successful and who associated themselves with the ruling class.

Nineteen hundred saw the rapid acceleration of the development of absentee landlordship in much of the rural South as the planter class migrated into the towns and villages. With their movement into town they carried with them the feudalistic concept which found expression in the development of the cotton mill industry.

The mill town was a fiefdom in the sense that mill owners set their industries up on their own private property and built their own private villages that provided houses for the workers, commissaries where workers might get advances of food and clothing against their future earnings exactly as on the plantations. The standards of agriculture were imported into industry.

Poor whites provided the bulk of the cheap labor for the cotton mills and industries while blacks and whites provided the cheap labor in

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[15]Supply merchants are Cash's designation for those people who set up shop after the Civil War as suppliers of guano and bread as well as such other staples as they could afford. Cash estimates that by 1880 almost every crossroad was provided with at least one such banker-merchant and every village had from two to half a score. This group became virtual monopolists in relationship to their own particular group of clients and thus new masters of Southern economics. They fastened upon the unfortunate Southern cotton-grower terms which were almost without parallel for rigor. In order to get credit from this source a farmer had to give a mortgage on the projected crop; next he usually had to give

support of agriculture. In 1936 Raper found that in Green and Macon counties, Georgia one-sixth of the white families owned the land on which 50 percent of the white landless and 90 percent of the black landless lived and worked. He divided the agricultural ladder into four rungs—the land owners, the renters, the croppers and the wage laborers. Only one-tenth of the blacks fell into the first category, 45 percent were croppers and the rest were equally divided between renters and wage laborer categories. According to his analysis the renter category offered blacks the biggest opportunity to alter their status because the fixed assessment for rental allowed them to save the most money. Croppers received the closest supervision from landlords and constituted the most binding arrangement between tenant and landlord.[16]

Portrait of the rural black. Traditionalism cast its mold on rural black attitudes in a number of ways. First, the violence following Reconstruction was directed against black leadership indiscriminately and personally. Furthermore it was directed against black leadership at the grass-roots level.

> . . . the members of Republican clubs, churches and other organizations, men who actively promoted racial solidarity and a sense of race pride and who represented growth of local leadership based on farmers, laborers and sharecroppers. They represented. . . what whites feared greatly. . .with all that implied for social and economic relationship in the rural areas where most Southerners lived.[17]

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a mortgage on the land on which the crop was to be grown—often on all his lands and chattels—and finally he undertook to pay charges which carried interest rates of from 40 percent to 80 percent. Ibid., pp. 151-152.

[16]Raper, Preface to Peasantry, pp. 21-22.

[17]Cruden, The Negro in Reconstruction, p. 151.

These were the men who bore the brunt of Southern wrath. Militant grass-roots leadership in rural communities was further cowered by the operation of the racial code of ethics that defined progress for black people. Blacks could not advance themselves to the status of landownership except by a very selective process. The would-be owner must be acceptable to the white community, have a white sponsor, be content with the purchase of acreage least desirable and pay for it in a very few years. Not only that, but he enjoyed that landownership only so long as he maintained the discipline of remembering his place and maintained his acceptability to the white community. Black sharecroppers and wage laborers, because of their dependency, were in very much the same position only without the degree of permanence, established credit, and respect which black landowners had. In this manner the militant local grass-roots leadership in rural communities was snuffed out.

The wholesale murder or killing off of leadership talent at the grass-roots, the political and economic intimidation of the remainder, and legal political disfranchisement all had the effect of encouraging the out-migration of what (since the DuBois study of the Philadelphia Negro) has come to be called "the talented tenth"—the educated, skilled and enlightened elite of black leaders on whom is morally laid the responsibility for social and politically guiding and representing the race.[18] Gilbert Osofsky points out in his work, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, that the pre-World War I exodus from the South was characterized as the "migration of the talented tenth." Politicians, businessmen, the educa-

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[18]See W. E. B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study (New York: Schochken Books, 1899), pp. 316-318 and 385-397.

tion and especially skilled workmen are supposed to have constituted the majority of people who left the South in these years. Southern Negroes were robbed of their leadership as the talented fled North. He cites such examples as P.B.S. Pinchback, who was for a time a Reconstruction governor of Louisiana; T. Thomas Fortune of Florida; J. Ross Stewart, a Lousiana State Legislator; George Henry White of North Carolina who were all found in the North by the turn of the century. So many of the talented had gone North that Osofsky could assert that very few prominent Negroes in New York City in the early twentieth century--lawyers, physicians, businessmen, clergymen, politicians--were not born in the South.[19]

Such were the methods of social control that Southern traditionalism exercised in the rural black community. A social control that was so tight that any outside innovation was suspect as carrying the potential for disturbing the economic balance between planters and their cheap labor supply. This suspicion was maintained until such innovations could be manipulated to work on behalf of the planter interest. Raper tells how planters in Green and Macon counties Georgia reacted with hostility to both the Red Cross Food and Clothing Program and the New Deal Relief Programs until they found ways to manipulate them in their own interest, i.e., when planters had found means of shifting part of their expense of maintaining their dependent workers onto the Red Cross or federal government. He writes:

> Relief in the rural communities is . . . controlled largely by the landlord; first the tenant and wage hands hardly dare ask

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[19]Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), pp. 19-20.

> the relief office for help unless the landlord concurs; second the applicant often has little chance of securing aid unless recommended, 'vouched for' by the leading white farmer in his community; third, a complaint from a landlord that a relief client refused to work for him may result in his being dropped from the roll.[20]

It is from social situations such as the above that the portrait of the rural black presented earlier in this chapter is drawn. An image is drawn of a rural black person who is politically apathetic, non-participant-oriented, and socialized as parochial subjects of the political system. Rural blacks have also been pictured as individuals grounded in the belief that politics is the paternalistic prerogative of whites.[21] To what extent is this an accurate portrait of blacks in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties today? In this dissertation the above portrait is taken as a base point for purposes of contrasting present political orientations found in rural black communities. To the extent that black orientations in the above three counties are found to be political, i.e., partisan, participatory, ingroup-oriented and nationalistic, one might say that there has been political development among rural blacks. It should be pointed out, however, that the nature of the data on hand permits only descriptive analysis of rural black political orientations, i.e., inferences drawn from simple two-way frequency distributions. We have no basis for assuming cause and effect relationships between nationalist orientations and political development, or among various aspects of political development (e.g., participation) and education,

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[20] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, p. 259.

[21] Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro, chap. 2; Also see Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), chap. 9.

age, sex or leadership and non-leadership. The study is more a description of orientations observed along with the presence or absence of economic and social factors generally associated with modernization.

In the remainder of this chapter we shall describe the county black political history noting what appears to be nationalist expressions since 1966. We also look at the political support provided by two institutions in the black community—the family and the church. In the following chapter we turn our attention to black political participation and ingroup consciousness among respondents in the three counties.

Changing demographic statistics in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties indicate that most blacks now reside in rural non-farm locales.[22] The agriculturally employed represent 26.9 percent of the work force in Brooks county in which blacks make up 14.1 percent of the total; 15.1 percent of the work force in Burke county (the black agriculturally employed represent 8.8 percent of the total); and 6.3 percent of the total workforce in Peach county. Black agricultural workers and 3.5 percent of the total workforce. (See Table 9).

When the black labor force is analyzed as a separate entity one finds that in Brooks county more blacks are working in agriculture than in any other occupation with 35 percent so employed. Nineteen and seven-tenths percent are operators and 18 percent are classified as service/domestic workers. Only 7.5 percent are professionals/managers. Thirteen percent are classified as non-farm laborers and 4.3 percent are craftsmen.

In Burke county only 18.9 percent of the black laborforce is em-

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[22]See Table 2, p. 22, Ch. II.

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE BY RACE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Brooks		Burke		Peach	
	All	Black	All	Black	All	Black
Total Employed	4846	1951	5690	2690	5879	2873
Percentage of Professional/managers	17.0	3.1	14.7	2.9	20.7	7.4
Percentage Industrial /commercial	45.2	16.1	55.6	24.1	56.9	24.9
Percentage service/ domestic	11.4	7.3	15.1	11.7	16.6	13.0
Percentage agriculture	26.9	14.1	15.1	8.8	6.3	3.5

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Chara teristics--Georgia (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, March, 1972), Tables 122 and 127.

ployed in Agriculture; 28.1 percent are employed as operatives; 24.7 percent are employed as domestics; and 13.3 percent as non-farm laborers. Five and eight-tenths percent are professionals/managers. (See Table 10). There are more non-agricultural workers in Burke county than in Brooks county.

In Peach county only 7.2 percent of the black labor force is employed in agriculture. The largest number of blacks are employed in domestic/service occupations. Twenty-seven and six-tenths percent are employed in these type occupations, while 14.9 percent are employed as operatives; 12 percent as clerical; 9.8 percent as craftsmen and 7.7 percent as non-farm laborers.

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF THE BLACK LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION[a]

Occupation	Brooks	Burke	Peach
Total Employed	1951	2690	2873
Agriculture	35.0	18.7	7.2
Craftsmen	4.3	6.7	9.8
Service/domestic	18.0	24.7	27.6
Clerical	2.5	2.3	12.0
Non-farm laborers	13.0	13.3	7.7
Operatives	19.7	28.1	19.5
Professional/managers	7.5	5.8	14.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, March, 1972), Table 127.

[a]Reported in percentages.

Recent Black Political History in Brooks, Burke and Peach Counties

The black political history presented in this section has been drawn mainly from the recollections of black leaders in each county. For the most part, it consists of those events in each county which have taken place since 1966 in the areas of electoral politics, protest activity, economic nationalism, and other miscellaneous political strategies which have had as the objective the improvement of the quality of life in the black community. It is our contention that recent black political history (since 1966) has been influenced by the black power and black nationalist movements and the awakening of ingroup conscious-

ness.

Brooks county. In Chapter II we attempted to capture the essence of black leadership in Brooks county prior to the advent of the black power movement and to demonstrate the influence of two factors on the character of that leadership. We focused on the strength of the patron-client relationship as exhibited in the course of action which black leaders adopted when its youth attempted to integrate public accommodations in Quitman, Georgia in early 1966; and the accommodative character of that leadership which pursued a discrete course of action until the right of blacks to participate in decision-making had been legitimated by the white community through participation in advisory committees to local EOA agencies. Between 1966 and 1972 the black power movement also came to Brooks county.

Perhaps one of the first indications that a nationalistic spirit was present in Brooks county occurred in a community which had a long history of ingroup consciousness and pride, i.e., the Dixie-Simmon Hill community. Dixie is the name of the civil jurisdiction in which the community is located. Simmon Hill is the name of one of the oldest black Baptist churches in the community. There is also a predominantly black school located near the church known as the Simmon Hill Elementary School (formerly Brooks County Training School). The Dixie-Simmon Hill black community has a history of progressivism, particularly in education, dating back to the days preceeding the establishment of public school education in Georgia. Their financial resourcefulness in support of Rosenwall community schools was worthy of mention in the otherwise lily-white history of the county written under the auspices of the Hannah

Clark Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Quitman, Georgia.[22] In fact the fate of the one remaining Rosenwall community school property in the county, which now serves as a centralized meeting place for the black community, has been a bone of contention between the black community and the Brooks County Board of Education.[23] That school is the Crossroads Rosenwall Community School.

The trustee boards that were a part of the early rural public school systems provided a focal point for coordinating black community leadership, particularly in the Dixie-Simmon Hill community. Trustees of the Simon Hill school were very zealous in exercising their community control over school policy, i.e., the right to approve the teachers that were hired each year to work in their school, and the right to designate how money, particularly that which they had raised through various sponsored activities, was to be spent. It was over policy of this latter nature that the Dixie-Simmon Hill Board of Trustees waged a power struggle with the lily-white Brooks County Board of Education. Differing with the Board of Trustees over how funds raised by the Trustees should be spent, the Brooks County Board of Education moved to abolish the Trustee system. They later revived it and staffed it with blacks who were more accommodative to their wishes. Meanwhile, the Simon Hill Board of Trustees,

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[22]Folks Huxford, History of Brooks County, Georgia (Athens: The McGregor Company, 1948).

[23]The Brooks County Board of Education tried to seize and sell the school to private interests. However, the fact that the donor had deeded it to the Crossroads Board of Trustees not connected with the public school system prevented them from having the legal right to do so. On the other hand, the black community seems to have lost, through time, the historical continuity of the Board of Trustees of the old school property.

anticipating such a move by the Board of Education exercised its discretionary authority and turned the money involved in the dispute over to the Simon Hill Parent Teachers Association. They acted swiftly before word could reach them of their dismissal. The Parent Teachers Association carried out the wishes of the Trustees and purchased the desired lunchroom appliances. Meanwhile, animosity in the white community was stirred up over these courageous acts from the black community, and a delegation came to the school to forcefully remove the new purchases. They were met by a delegation of blacks armed with their weapons in defense of property belonging to their school. If black political history in Brooks county is anything, it is a battle in which the forces of black nationalism fight the accommodative orientations engendered by clientage politics. The courage of the Simmon Hill Board of Trustees was one incident in the life of a black community beset by the ravages of rural peonage. Many blacks were afraid to support their courageous leaders. Accommodative leaders in the community sided with the Board of Education and were rewarded with seats on the recreated Board of Trustees. The incident had the effect of disillusioning and embittering the strong or nationalist black leadership of the community. This disillusionment is evident in the interview with the black man who served as President of the Board of Trustees when these events took place. He indicated that he had ceased trying to work as a leader in the black community. Instead, he was dedicating himself to building personal influence, amassing enough wealth to send all of his children to college so that they might escape this environment, and arranging for his own future retirement.

The black power movement came to Brooks county in 1969 when Attorney C. B. King, a black civil rights lawyer from Albany, Georgia began to put together his campaign for Governor of the State of Georgia. Brooks county was one of the rural Southwest Georgia counties singled out for community organization. Black leadership in Brooks county was encouraged to pattern itself after black leadership in neighboring counties of Lowndes, Thomas and Colquitt and form a civic league with which black candidates at the state, district and local level could link up in conducting their campaigns. Thus in 1970, one finds the Brooks County Civic League in existence and on its roster of members are some of the names of the same leaders who spearheaded the 1966 advertisement in the Quitman Free Press that rebuked the youth of the county for attempting to integrate public accommodations in Brooks county. The Brooks County Civic League had adopted as one of its goals participating in the electoral campaign designed to put a black man in the office of governor. It had also committed itself to attempting to elect blacks to local government. Between 1970 and 1974 it actively tried to recruit black candidates for city and county elections.[24] It succeeded in recruiting a black candidate for a post on the Quitman City Council in both the 1970 and the 1972 city elections. However, the candidate who ran for a post on the Quitman City Council and won in 1974 was not

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[24]The Brooks County Civic League was unable to recruit any black candidates for posts in county government. There was a general feeling among black leaders that the white encumbents were too deeply entrenched in their positions to be ousted by novice politicians. They felt, however, that should a death or resignation occur that removed the encumbent they would not hesitate to enter the contest with other novices.

recruited by the Brooks County Civic League. The League had not even actively endorsed or supported him.

During its heyday, the League also attempted to screen all candidates running for office, and to consolidate the vote in the black community. Unfortunately, internal strife among memberships, the logic of the electoral equation, and economic vulnerability of the black population hampered the realization of these goals. By Summer, 1974 the League existed in name only.

Following the decline of the Brooks County Civic League one leader, who is the recognized head of a large extended family living in the Morven community, formally organized that community around his family. The organization began the serious task of monitoring the meetings of the Morven City Council, screening candidates for election, petitioning the city for improved services in the black community and consolidating the black vote for more effective bargaining. This leader,—who is the oldest of three brothers—is a minister, but his churches are not located in his residential community. He has long been recognized as a mediator or old-line leader in the black and white community. However, it has only been since the coming of the black power movement that his political involvement has taken on a more overt and activist tone. His goals are still conservative in comparison with those of black leaders in the urban context, e.g., he concentrates on such goals as improving the street lighting and paving the streets in the black community. It is mainly his style of operation that has become more open.

Another incident pointing up the battle between the forces of nationalism and traditional accommodative orientations is the struggle

to keep a nightclub or "dive" from opening up right across the road from the Rosenwall Crossroads Community school now serving as the community center for activities in the Dixie-Simmon Hill community. Black community leadership had been notified by members of the county commission of the nightclub owner's application for a liquor license. They tried to counteract the application with signed petitions objecting to the opening of a "dive" or "joint" right across the street from their community center. They appealed to people at the various churches in the community and a significant number of people signed the petition. However, many later had second thoughts and came back to remove their names from the petition. Presumably they were moved by some greater loyalty. Meanwhile, the nightclub owner was able to take the Brooks County Board of Commissioners to court and successfully claim that the denial of his liquor license (based on the petitions initiated by the Board of Commissioners) were discriminatory against him on the basis of color. He won his case and his nightclub is now operating.

Another instance in which the forces of nationalism battled with traditional accommodative black orientations can be seen in the internal strife which beset the Brooks County Civic League. As noble as the goals of the League are the logic of the electoral equation hampered the adoption of a wholly nationalist stance. The fact that blacks are only 38 percent of the voting age population in Quitman, Georgia and 40 percent of the voting age population in Brooks county makes white acceptance one of the major goals of political aspirants. Thus white patrons have been allowed to sow seeds of dissension among black leadership by activity playing off some leaders against others with offers of support. Such an

intense situation of mutual distrust exists among black leadership in Quitman, Georgia that black leaders attempt few group projects together, particularly those that involve mutual financial commitment or goals that might be considered objectionable to the white community. Internal dissension was one of the major problems of the Brooks County Civic League. That, and the fact that the League decided to refrain from taking a position on the black councilmanic candidate which had been recruited by the white power structure for the 1974 Quitman city election are perhaps responsible for its demise.

Burke county. In Burke county black organizations like the Burke County Civic Improvement Association, the Burke County Civic League and the Midville Civic Association have all exhibited some levels of ingroup consciousness and nationalist sentiment. In Chapter II we pointed out that although it was looked at with disfavor by other black leaders in the county, the mutual assistance programs of the Burke County Civic League were concerned with the survival of the group. League programs offered financial and technical assistance in the areas of arrest protection, sickness, accident and death. Members pay according to their ability.

The most active black political group in Burke county, however, is the Burke County Civic Improvement Association. It has been through that organization that black leadership has been most active in the electoral arena, in direct action campaigns, in bringing federal money into the county in pursuance of programs designed to improve living conditions in the black community and in challenging continued segregation in the county.

Organized in 1961, the Burke County Civic Improvement Association predates both the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. In 1964 the Civic Improvement Association initiated the court suit that challenged segregation in Burke County schools. The case entitled Allene Bennett and Others vs The Burke County Board of Education came before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals as one of a group of cases in 1970.[25] This case hastened the coming of integration in Burke county. It also invited all sorts of reprisals against black leaders from the white community. Violent acts against the parties to the suit necessitated blacks organizing themselves for self-protection and mutual defense.

The theoretical potential for the exercise of black political power in Burke county has caught the imagination of such civil rights organizations as The Voter Education Project. On three separate occasions they answered the call of the Burke County Civic Improvement Association and provided funding for citizenship education and voter registration projects. In 1968, 1969, and 1972—all since the 1966 march in which the slogan "black power" was coined—the Burke County Civic Improvement Association engaged in political activity aimed at consolidating the black vote in the county. In this connection, they recruited black candidates for both the county commission and the Waynesboro City Council. In the 1968 General Election they recruited a black leader from the Sardis area to run for a post on the county commission. The candidate said his defeat was due, in part, to his failure to appeal to the owners of one or the other of the two major banks in Waynesboro for their endorsement. In other words, he felt that with white backing he might have won

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[25] 419 F2d 1211 (1970).

the post. None of the other candidates interviewed expressed this view. However, there are not enough blacks registered to vote to elect a black candidate on black power alone. This fact is brought home in the 1969 and 1971 city elections when the Civic Improvement Association recruited a black candidate for a councilmanic post on the Waynesboro City Council. The same candidate ran both times and each time was unsuccessful. Two black candidates were recruited for the 1972 General Election--one ran for county commissioner and another ran for superintendent of public schools. None of the electoral bids by black candidates in Burke county have been successful thus far.

But the Civic Improvement Association has been busy in other areas of the political arena. In 1969 it launched its "March on the Downtown Theater." The march was made up mainly of youth in the county who militantly presented their cause to the theater management. An open confrontation developed between white and black youths that spread to the streets. There white youth lined up on one side of the street and black youth the other with intermittent fighting between the two. The confrontation lasted into the night. On the second day the crisis was broken up by law enforcement officers who came out and announced that they were tired of the disturbance. They ordered the teenagers to go home before some were seriously hurt. The crowd obliged and were dispersed without the objective having been accomplished. The theater closed without integrating and remained closed until Summer, 1974. At that time it reopened quietly as an integrated theater.

In 1970 the Civic Improvement Association declared an economic boycott on downtown Waynesboro chain foodstores. Discourteous and careless

mistreatment of black customers by white attendants at the checkout counter of a nationally-owned grocery store chain called attention to the fact that there were no blacks employed as sales persons in any of the downtown stores. The boycott forced the chain foodstores and other merchants to bargain. They agreed to hire black sales persons. However, there are some blacks who indicate that for them the boycott is not yet over. On the other hand you have to balance against that the fact that the preservers of the status quo, i.e., the supply merchants located at almost every crossroad in the county still flourish.

The Civic Improvement Association used the economic boycott effectively again in 1973 in a militant command for respect by demanding the firing of a white employee of a chain bread store. The bread store employee in question had gone to the newly integrated high school waving a pistol and threatening to shoot black students on the word of his daughter that some black youths had attempted to molest her. The school authorities would take no action to censor the man for his action so the black community felt compelled to do so.

The Civic Improvement Association was also responsible for bringing the war on poverty to Burke county. They were brokers for their community in preparing and executing the funding proposals for Head Start, job training programs for adults, and Neighborhood Youth Corps, etc. They also allied themselves with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and formed the Southeastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative. The Cooperative manages a demonstration farm in the county and independent filling station in the city of Waynesboro.

The Midville Civic Association is comprised of a small group of

black leaders who live in the town of Midville, Georgia which is located in the Southwest section of the county. They have functioned mainly in the area of furthering the advancement of the group through capitalist ventures. Their only political success seems to have been persuading the city of Midville to hire a black policeman. Members of the group indicate that they have actively tried to further community development by trying to recruit businesses to locate in that section of the county. Their efforts failed mainly because whites would not sell companies the land needed for development. They now see brighter economic prospects in the adjoining county (Emmanual). Thus they have pooled their financial resources and invested in a shopping plaza in Swainsboro.

In the Southeast section of the county in Sardis, Georgia, blacks staged a march and boycott to force the city to put running water and sanitation in houses in the black community. They were assisted in their march by representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Although opposed by some mainline leadership in the Sardis community, the marchers obtained concessions from the city and improvements were promised within a specified period providing financing could be found.

Peach county. Although it is possible to show historical continuity in the political struggle in Fort Valley-Peach county dating back to 1933 or 1934 when the Fort Valley Civic League was founded, one begins to notice definite ingroup consciousness and nationalist tendencies around 1967-68. Around this time the Citizenship Education Commission abandoned its strictly electoral politics posture and staged an economic boycott of chain foodstores in downtown Fort Valley. Students provided a lot

of the manpower for the boycott. Black people were encouraged to go to Macon and Warner Robbins to buy their groceries. Even blacks in nearby Marshalville (Macon County, Georgia) entered the spirit of the boycott and finally brought the grocers to the bargaining stage.

It was in 1969 that the student power and black power movements fully came to Fort Valley-Peach county. Students at the college attended and participated in the black leadership conference held in Macon in 1969 to discuss black strategy for the up-coming gubernatorial campaign. The student population also became a source of potential political participants in the electoral arena in Fort-Valley-Peach County as many of them, for various reasons of their own, began to take advantage of their domicile for legal and civic purposes. In this atmosphere the CEC began seriously recrutiing black candidates for up-coming elections. Clayborn Edwards ran for a seat on the Fort Valley City Council and won; however, it was necessary to wage a court battle with the city in order to assume his seat.[26]

By 1970 the black community had reorganized politically. Students at the college had combined with the CEC and the Byron Community Center and created an overhead organization called the Citizens and Students for a Better Community (CASBC). A certain amount of friction developed between supporters of the old and new guard as people felt they had to choose sides in displaying their loyalties. Those loyal to the old guard felt that the newcomers had come in and usurped the programs for the old CEC leadership and those loyal to the new guard were impatient to effect what they considered to be "real progress" for black people in

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[26] Clayborn Edwards vs The City of Fort Valley (1970).

the city and county. A third faction emerged which consisted of those grassroots mobilizers supported by the white community. They also vied for the loyalty of the black masses. In this situation both CASBC and the white community recruited black candidates for the upcoming 1972 and 1974 elections in the city and the 1972 elections in the county. Black candidates opposed each other for positions on the city council, the county commission and the city utility commission. When the smoke cleared the black incumbent, Claybon Edwards--owner of a local funeral home--along with Rudolph Carson, an insurance agent, had been re-elected and elected, respectively to seats on the city council. Claude Lawson and Roosevelt Arnold, were elected to the city utilities commission. Whites used questionable absentee ballots in a run-off election to deny the election of some of the black candidates. Thus the city had to be taken to court again before those blacks could obtain their rightful seats.[27]

As in Burke county the potential for the exercise of black political power in the electoral arena caught the imagination of the Voter Education Project. On four different occasions they financially supported the political education and voter registration of blacks in Fort Valley-Peach county, i.e., in 1964, 1968, 1970 and 1972. In 1972, blacks made a serious bid for positions in county government. Two black candidates were recruited for the county commissioner race and a black candidate ran for superintendent of county schools. One black man was elected to the county commission--Robert Church, an agricultural extension

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[27] Dixon et al vs Avera, et al, Civil Action No. 2741, U. S. District Court, Macon Division, Middle District of Georgia. (1972).

agent in Peach county. The black candidate for superintendent of public schools lost his race and those black teachers who supported him were notified by the incumbent that their contracts would not be renewed. A court suit which they instituted against the Peach County Board of Education resulted in a declaration of their right to reinstatement.[28]

White reaction to black bids for power in Peach county have been the most openly hostile of the three counties. Besides interpreting city-county boundaries in such a way as to throw confusion into black voter registration campaigns, declaring black ballots void for non-payment of city taxes, counting white absentee ballots illegally; they spearheaded the 1973 court case designed to erode away the new supply of potential political participants found at the predominantly black college.[29] Under the pretext that Fort Valley State College was an inferior institution of higher learning (i.e., a diploma mill geared up to provide compensatory education to black students whose Scholastic Aptitude Test scores did not warrant them admission into other institutions in the University system); the federal district court was asked to order the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia to erase the racial identity of the college in order to make it more palatable to local whites who might want to send their children there. The litigation was a long drawn out affair. It affected the morale of both the college students and employees and the black community, and created an atmosphere of uncertainty that sapped the energies that students and leaders had to give

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[28] Cordie J. Walker, et al vs Peach County Board of Education et al, Civil Action No. 74-7-MAC, (Filed February 20, 1974).

[29] See Jack R. Hunnicutt et al vs W. Lee Burge et al, (1973).

to political affairs in the 1974 city elections. Even so, the black encumbents, Claybon Edwards, Rudolph Carson and Roosevelt Arnold, won re-election. Pressures resulting from living under the continuing observation of the Court as it investigates ways and means of erasing the racial identity of Fort Valley State College has withered away much of the black power thrust in Peach county. First, uncertainty affected student enrollment. Then, "accountability and efficiency" either redirected the energies of activist professors or forced their out-migration. Activist professors were either told to spend more time in service to the institution or that their work load did not justify their continuation on the staff. In this manner most of the activist professors have been brought under the social control of the Regents acting in the interest of the local white community.

The black power movement also penetrated the Byron black community in Peach county. Black leadershp in that community is organized around the Byron Community Center. In three separate city elections, i.e., 1970, 1972 and 1974, the Byron Community Center recruited candidates to run for a post on the city council. Although thus far all their efforts have been unsuccessful they are encouraged over the fact that one of their candidates in the 1974, Jesse Hall, lost the contest by a margin of only a few votes.

Political organization in Byron also shows the influence of one extended family located in the town. That family includes an active female member who is director of the Byron Community Center and two male members who serve on the executive board of the Center. These male members of the family have also, between them, run for a position on the Byron City Council in three separate elections. The most active leaders

in the Byron community do not depend on the local white power structure for their livelihood. They are employed by the Federal government.

The Family and Church as Political Institutions in Rural Georgia

The literature on traditional Southern culture portrays a non-political, apathetic black individual as one who dares not discuss politics for fear of economic reprisals from the white community and who uses non-political institutions to channel and sublimate his aggressions and ambitions. That literature also suggests that black political apathy and non-participant orientations are maintained by a pathological black institution labeled the matriarchal family. In the following section the family and church in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties are looked at in terms of the extent to which they are supportive of political apathy or participation.

The family and politicization. We find little evidence in the 1970 Census to support the notion that black families in either Brooks, Burke or Peach counties are matriarchal. Only 88 out of 1,268 black families in Brooks county or 6.9 percent are households with female heads. In Burke county there were only 149 out of 2,196 black families with female heads or 6.8 percent; and in Peach county only 135 out of 1,595 black families had female heads.[30] Recent studies on the black family tend to show that in the rural South kinship ties to the extended family are important factors in the social integration of the black community.[31]

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[30] U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, March, 1972), Table 127.

[31] See Virginia Heyer Young, "The Southern Negro Family," American

Evidence presented elsewhere in this dissertation show that in at least two of the three counties under study the extended family has served as the nuclei for black political organization. An extended family in the Morven community of Brooks county, and the Byron community of Peach county form the nuclei for political organization in those communities. In this section however, we attempt to explore the extent to which the average family talked politics together, spoke about who to vote for or against at election time, and deliberately passed on political opinions to the children in the family.

Respondents were asked the following four questions:

1. Do members of your family ever talk together about politics or public affairs?

2. Do you take part in political discussions with your family?

3. In your family do you ever speak about who to vote for or against in an election?

4. Do you discuss your political views with the children in your family?

In Brooks county 57.9 percent of the respondents indicated that their family members talked politics and public affairs together and that they personally participated in political discussions with their families. When asked about the extent to which family discussions centered around support or non-support for a candidate there was a decrease in the number of respondents who engaged in this type of partisan discourse.

Anthropologist 72 (1970): 269-289; and Demitri B. Shimkin, Gloria J. Louie and Dennis A. Frate, "The Black Extended Family: A Basic Rural Institution and a Mechanism of Urban Adaptation," cited in "The Black Family: A Proud Reappraisal," by Hamilton Bims, Ebony 29, No. 5 (March 1974): 118-145.

There was a further decrease among respondents in Brooks county who discussed their political views with the children in their family. Only 50 percent of the interviewees said that they spoke about who to vote for or against in an election, while 34.2 percent discussed their political views with the children in the family. (See Table 11).

TABLE 11

FAMILY POLITICIZATION BY COUNTY

Item	County Brooks	Burke	Peach
1. Family talks politics or public affairs together	57.9	65.9	73.7
2. Respondents participate in political discussions with their families	57.9	65.9	78.9
3. Family speaks about who to vote for or against in an election	50.0	68.2	73.7
4. Adult in the family discuss their political views with the children in the family	34.2	43.2	68.4
N =	33	36	42

In Burke county 75.9 percent of the respondents indicated that the members of their families engaged in political discussion together. While 65.9 percent indicated that they personally took part in such discussions. Sixty-eight and two-tenths percent said that they spoke about who to vote for or against in an election, and 43.2 percent discussed their political views with the children in the family.

Seventy-three and seven-tenths percent of the Peach county respondents indicated that their families talked politics or public affairs

together and 78.9 percent indicated that they personally participated in political discussions with their families. Again, 73.7 percent of the respondents in Peach county said that their families spoke about who to vote for or against in an election; while 68.4 percent discussed their political views with the children in the family.

In Brooks and Peach counties respondents who lived in town were members of families who were more partisanly inclined than those who lived in the rural portion of the county. Perhaps the fear of economic sanctions were greater in the county than in the city. Also interaction is more frequent in the town than in the rural sections. Of those who lived in town, 72.8 percent in Brooks county and 78.2 percent in Peach county claimed to have families that discussed who to vote for or against in an election; while 52.1 percent of those respondents living in the rural portion of Brooks county and 68.7 percent of those living in the rural portion of Peach county indicated that they belonged to families who discussed who to vote for against in an election. In Burke county, of those interviewed who lived in town, 52.5 percent lived in families that discussed who to vote for or against in an election, while 78.1 percent of those who lived in the rural portion of the county lived in these type families. Burke county has a number of small towns that might be considered company-owned settlements, which means that blacks although technically living in town are really living in a feudal type social order.

Overall however, there is evidence to support the conclusion that contrary to the idea that the black family in rural Georgia acts to maintain political apathy, they are becoming increasingly political—actively

discussing politics together as well as who to vote for or against in elections. Again the centrality of the family in the poltical mobilization of the black community is shown in the fact that spouses (husbands and wives) were the most often named first preference as political opinion leaders in all three counties. (See Table 12). Also member of the family—mother, father or children were often named as second preference in all three counties.

Church and politicization. In all three counties one is struck by the tremendous number of black churches spotting the rural horizon. There are better than 100 scattered over Burke county alone. Brooks and Peach counties also have a proliferation of them covering their black communities. Black churches stand out in poor communities that can hardly sustain themselves let alone maintaining a salary for a resident minister. Only a few of the churches in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties can boast a full-time resident minister. The usual practice is for black churches to form a part of a circuit in which a single minister serves from two to four churches per month. Thus in most communities the resident pastor is a rarity, and non-resident ministers play minor roles in local civic affairs. This is particularly so in Brooks and Burke counties. The duty of providing political inspiration to the church congregation has devolved on to the laity. However, there are ministers living in the community whose pastoral charges are located elsewhere, but whose influence in the local community warrants them recognition as community leaders. Each respondent was asked to identify (name) whom he cnnsidered to be the ten most important leaders in his county. Out of a total of 58 persons named in Brooks county 3 were ministers and only one figured

TABLE 12

POLITICAL OPINION LEADERS BY COUNTY

County	1st Preference		2nd Preference		3rd Preference	
	Name	Percent	Name	Percent	Name	Percent
Brooks	1. Spouse	34.0	Black Leaders	30.6	Close Friends	26.5
	2. Minister	13.6	Close Friends	16.7	Black Leaders	20.6
	3. Close Friends	15.8	Minister	13.9	Others	17.6
	4.		Parents	13.9	Children	17.6
	5.		Children	13.9		
Burke	1. Spouse	47.2	Minister	18.9	Minister	31.3
	2. Minister	19.4	Close Friends	18.9	Black Leaders	18.9
	3. Black Leaders	16.7	Black Leaders	13.5	Close Friends	15.6
	4.		Children	13.5		
Peach	1. Spouse	35.5	Close Friends	29.6	Close Friends	28.0
	2. Black Leaders	22.6	Spouse	18.5	Minister	20.0
	3.		Minister	14.8	Black Leaders	16.0
	4.		Parents	11.1	Others	12.0

overtly in the events reported above under the section on black political history. In Burke county there were 6 ministers in a total of 58 leaders named. One was an old line leader who delighted in the distinction of being known as the only declared Republican in the county. Another was the chaplain of the private secondary school located in the northwest section of the county; and still another was the recognized head of the Burke County Civic League. In Peach county only one minister was named out of 66 persons designated as leaders. That minister did not pastor in the community but was the chaplain at the local predominantly black college.

Respondents interviewed in the three counties were accustomed to attending church on the average of about twice a month. People in Brooks and Burke counties were more church-oriented than people in Peach county. Three questions relative to their church's involvement in political and social affairs of the black community were asked. Questions were:

1. Does your church do any civic work in the community?[32]
2. Does your minister or church officials take an active part in public debates on politics or conditions in the black community?[33]
3. Does your church ever give instructions about who to vote for or against in an election?

In Brooks county 71.1 percent of the respondents said that the church they attended regularly in the county did civic work in the com-

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[32]Civic work was interpreted as helping people who are victims of disasters, sickness and death, as well as encouraging good citizenship, and neighborhood improvement.

[33]Unfortunately this question was inadvertently omitted from the leadership questionnaire. So we have only the responses of the non-leadership sample.

munity; while 42.1 percent of those responding to the question regarding whether or not their minister or church officials took active part in public debates on politics or conditions in the black community answered in the affirmative. However, only 28.9 percent of the respondents in Brooks county said that their church gave instructions on who to vote for or against in an election. (See Table 13).

TABLE 13

CHURCH POLITICIZATION BY COUNTY

Item	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
1. Church does civic work.	71.1	70.5	63.2
2. Minister and church officials take active part in public debates on politics or conditions in the black community.	42.1	62.1	52.6
3. Church gives instructions about who to vote for or against in an election.	28.9	52.3	52.6
N =	38	40	35

Seventy-one and one-tenth percent of the respondents in Burke county attended churches that do civic work and 62.1 percent said that their minister or church took active part in public debates on politics or conditions in the black community. Fifty-two and three-tenths percent said that their church gave instructions about who to vote for or against in an election.

In Burke county one found that the main channels of communication between leadership and masses are the 100 odd black churches scattered over this large county. Fraternal associations among churches consti-

tute the main avenue of contact which blacks in various sections of the county have with one another.

People in Peach county appear to have more of a secular orientation than in the other two counties. First there were fewer churches serving as nuclei for community organizations in that county. Respondents indicated that homes of residents served as social gathering places more than churches did. Also only one minister's name was included among the 10 most important leaders in the black community. Even so, 63.2 percent of the respondents in Peach indicated that their churches did civic work. Fifty-two and six-tenths percent said that their minister and/or church officials took an active part in public debates on politics or conditions in the black community, and 52.6 percent said that their church gave instructions on who to vote for or against in an election.

Thus two kinds of political postures are adopted by black churches in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties. Some churches like the majority of those in Brooks county, adopted the good citizenship position and urged their congregation to register and vote, and to be law-abiding citizens. Other churches like those in Burke and Peach counties, took an active part in encouraging their congregations to engage in partisan political activity, and their officers took a role in leading the way through participation in public debates concerning politics and conditions in the black community.

Attitudes of black churches toward politics and public affairs are important in influencing the direction of black political mobilization, particularly in rural black communities where religion is such a significant part of the social life of the people. To be motivated to

participate one must feel that the effort is worthwhile, i.e., that the issues are important in improving the quality of life in the community, and that one has a real choice among options. The good citizenship approach does nothing to help clarify the issues for the black community. Rather this approach is the less nationalistic and the more academic of the two in extending the messages of the secondary school civics curriculum to the church and community and thereby providing support for the status quo. The good citizenship posture is not supportive of change but of political passivity.

For many rural black citizens the church is the surrogate for the political community, i.e., people identify themselves and others far more readily with the church they attend or the church neighborhood they live in rather than their respective civil jurisdictions. We asked respondents the name of the community that they generally thought of themselves as being from and recorded their answers on the basis of whether or not they named a colloquial sub-community, the nearest town or village or the county at large. Data show that over 31.6 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 40.9 percent of those in Burke county and 68.4 percent of those in Peach county identified with a colloquial sub-community as opposed to identification with either the county at large or the nearest town or village. In comparison 23.7 percent in Brooks county, 34.1 percent in Burke county and 23.7 percent in Peach county identified with the nearest town or village. Only 15.8 percent in Brooks county, 20.5 percent in Burke county and none in Peach county identified with the county at large. Again in Brooks county 67.9 percant of the respondents named their churches as the place where they most often gathered with

their friends. Sixty-six and seven-tenths percent of the people in Burke county also indicated that the church served as their community gathering places. Only 20 percent of the respondents in Peach county used churches as community gathering places. Thus in Brooks and Burke counties the church is in a crucial position for the political mobilization of its congregations. For the church to take the attitude that their responsibility calls only for the good citizenship posture is in effect to abdicate its social responsibility to the black community.

In summary, we have noticed that in those black communities where black leaderships recalled fewer incidents of nationalist expressions in their black political history since 1966, census information tended to show a greater degree of dependence on agriculture as a source of employment for the black community. This suggests that there may be ties between the political postures of the black community and the extent to which that community is tied to agriculture as a means of earning a living. For example, the black community in Brooks county is more tied to agriculture as a means of earning a living than either Burke or Peach county. Thirty-five percent of the people in Brooks county are still agriculturally employed as compared with 18.7 percent in Burke county and 7.2 percent in Peach county. Brooks county has also exercised more caution in its choice of political strategies. Their political efforts conform more to the dictates of the white community than either Burke or Peach county. Also in Brooks county the black churches have mainly played the role of encouraging good-citizenship as opposed to more active involvement in helping the black community define and clarify the issues significant to improving the quality of black life.

The logic of the electoral equation, i.e., the ratio of black and

white voting age population and the number of registered voters in each race, may also have a bearing on the pro-nationalist or accommodative political posture which black leaders adopt, particularly in the electoral arena.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICIZATION AMONG BLACKS IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

It has been argued in Chapter I that a useful way of looking at black political orientations is to examine the extent to which those orientations serve to instruct black political efforts. In Chapter II the demographic and political milieu of black politics in the predominantly rural counties of Brooks, Burke and Peach were discussed in light of the fact that rural Georgia is basically a slow developing agrarian political culture whose modernization is in direct proportion to the extent to which outside forces have been able to decrease the strength of the patron-client relationships in existence through the creation of alternative loyalties. Meanwhile in Chapter III, black political development in the three counties is examined by contrasting the county black political history with the image of blacks portrayed in the literature on Southern traditionalism. In this same vein Chapter IV looks at the following dimensions of black political development: (1) political participation; (2) socio-emotional commitment toward political action; (3) leadership perceptions of popular support for various strategies, and (4) ingroup consciousness and nationalist sentiment.

Political Participation

Modes of political participation. We have identified three modes

of traditional political participation common to black politics: (1) talking politics in a general way with family, friends, people on the job, black and/or white community leaders, governmental officials or party leaders; (2) expressing definite opinions or as Bradbury Seasholes says "being partisan"; and (3) active participation in electoral activity.[1]

At the level of talking politics it was found that 66.7 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 69 percent of those in Burke county, and 83.3 percent of those in Peach county admitted to taking part in political discussions with their families; while 76.3 percent in Peach, 63.6 percent in Burke and 60.2 percent in Brooks counties said they talked politics with relatives outside the immediate family. A large number of respondents in all three counties admitted to talking politics with black community leaders. Seventy-eight and nine-tenths percent of the interviewees in Peach county, 72.4 percent of the interviewees in Burke county and 68.4 percent of the interviewees in Brooks county indicated that they had political discussions with leaders in the black community. Data on respondent-leader interaction may be interpreted as a measure of the accessibility of black leaders to their constituents in the black community. We found that 28.9 percent in Brooks county, 19.2 percent in Burke county and 26.3 percent in Peach county had not talked politics with leaders in the black community.

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[1]Seasholes argues that learning to be political is learning to be partisan; learning to participate in politics; learning to be optimistic about politics; learning political information; and learning to participate with skill. See Bradbury Seasholes, "Political Socialization of Blacks: Implications for Self and Society." in Black Self-Concept, eds. James A. Banks and Jean D. Grabs (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1971), pp. 72-73.

The level of talking politics takes a slight drop when one looks at the verbal exchange between respondents and white community leaders. Sixty-three and two-tenths percent of those interviewed in Peach county admitted to talking to white leaders as opposed to 47.7 percent in Burke county and 39.5 percent in Brooks county. That drop is more noticeable in Brooks and Burke counties than in Peach county. In the case of verbal exchange with governmental officials or party leaders—most of whom were white—we found that 57.9 percent of the respondents in Peach, 50 percent in Burke and 39.5 percent in Brooks counties said that they had talked with people in this category. By that same token 57.9 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 45.5 percent of the respondents in Peach county have never talked politics with white community leaders; and 52.6 percent in Brooks, 43.2 percent in Burke and 31.6 percent in Peach counties had never discussed politics with governmental officials or party leaders in their counties. In terms of knowing how these people feel about the issues or which issues are more significant to them the representatives of "the establishment" in these three counties can claim little direct knowledge.

Where do politics fit within the realm of common conversation topics? Seven conversation topics were presented to respondents who were asked to identify for us their first, second, and third topical priorities when in the company of their friends. Those topics were: religious affairs; social affairs; politics/public affairs; civics; recreation/sports events; job/career; and conditions in the black community. Answers show that in Brooks county 2.6 percent said their first choice would be politics as compared with 6.8 percent in Burke county and 15.8

percent in Peach counties chose politics as a second conversation topic. Another 21.1 percent in Brooks county, 11.4 percent in Burke county and 13.2 percent in Peach county listed politics as a third conversation priority. Thus 33.6 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 25 percent of those in Burke county, and 39.5 percent of those in Peach county indicated that they would be likely to discuss politics or public affairs as their first, second or third conversation priority. (See Tables 14 and 15). Since our use of the term politics draws upon the subjective understanding which each respondent attaches to the term, we added the topic: conditions in the black community in an effort to assure that individual definitions of "politics and public affairs" did not overlook this category. We found that 13.2 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 35 percent in Burke county and 29 percent in Peach county said that they would be likely to discuss conditions in the black community as either a first, second or third conversation priority. Civics is another category which might be considered political. Thirty-nine and five tenths percent of those interviewed in Brooks and 13.2 percent of those interviewed in Peach county with none in Burke county indicated that they would be likely to discuss civics as a second or third conversation priority.

When the question of the extent to which blacks in rural Georgia (particularly Brooks, Burke and Peach counties) have learned to be partisan is addressed, it was found that 59.4 percent of the people interviewed in Brooks county, 69.8 percent of those in Burke county and 80 percent of the people interviewed in Peach county answered in the affirmative. This researcher encountered a pervasive feeling in the black

TABLE 14

POLITICS, CONDITIONS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND CIVICS AS FIRST, SECOND AND/OR THIRD CONVERSATION TOPICS AMONG BLACKS IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Topic	1st Priority Percent	2nd Priority Percent	3rd Priority Percent
Brooks			
- Politics/Public Affairs	2.6	7.9	21.1
- Conditions in the Black Community	5.3	7.9	—
- Civics	—	13.7	15.8
Burke			
- Politics/Public Affairs	6.8	6.8	11.4
- Conditions in the Black Community	9.1	6.8	18.2
- Civics	—	—	—
Peach			
- Politics/Public Affairs	15.8	10.5	13.2
- Conditions in the Black Community	15.8	5.3	7.9
- Civics	—	13.2	—

community that how one votes is a matter of his personal conscience and to seek to persuade one to vote differently was basically wrong. Therefore, if one did these things, one did not admit it in public. It was also a matter of expedience in a largely hostile environment where politics is considered the paternalistic prerogative of whites. Thus we have 60.5 percent of the people interviewed in Brooks county, 43.2 percent

TABLE 15

FIRST CONVERSATION PREFERENCES AMONG RESPONDENTS IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Topics	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
1. Religious Affairs	56.7	36.4	18.4
2. Social Affairs	10.5	22.7	21.1
3. Politics/Public Affairs	2.6	6.7	15.8
4. Civics	—	—	—
5. Recreation/Sports	7.9	—	—
6. Job/Career	—	6.8	—
7. Conditions in the Black Community	5.3	9.1	15.8

in Burke county and 31.6 percent of the people interviewed in Peach county indicating that they have never talked with people to try to get them to vote for or against a specific candidate.

On the other hand voting tends to be a widely accepted form of political activity in all three counties. At this level of participation in electoral activity, 63.2 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 72.7 percent in Burke county and 81.6 percent in Peach county said that they had voted. Participation seems to wane, however, when it comes to moving above the level of the ritual of ballot-casting in demonstration of model citizenshp to more partisan type activities like attending political meetings and rallies, making financial contributions to political candidates, and working to help a candidate win an election.

In this respect, Brooks county was found to be least inclined to do so, with Burke county second, and Peach county being most inclined in the direction of financially aiding candidates. Only 23.7 percent in Brooks county as compared with 45.5 percent in Burke county and 71.1 percent in Peach county. (See Table 16). By the same token only 18.4 percent of the respondents in Brooks, as opposed to 31.8 percent of the respondents in Burke and 63.2 percent of the respondents in Peach counties reported having ever made a financial contribution to candidates running for office. When it comes to contributions of time and effort to help a candidate win the bid for public office, 50 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 54.5 percent of the people in Burke county and 65.8 percent of the people in Peach county indicated that they had worked to help a candidate in an election.

When items in each area are collapsed into a tri-dimensional scale of political participation, one finds that political participation in Peach county is approximately 14.9 percent above participation in Burke county and 28.5 percent above participation in Brooks county. (See Table 16).

Who are the political participants with each county? The above discussion of differences in rates of political participation represents a description of overall participation among the three counties. The discussion below attempts to describe how participation is apportioned among the interviewees according to their education, age and type of sample, i.e., leadership and non-leadership. (Tables 17 through 23 depict this information).

TABLE 16

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Level of Participation	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
I Talking Politics	54.7	61.0	74.2
II Expressing Definite Opinions	37.8	53.7	64.7
III Participation in Electoral Politics	45.1	63.8	84.3

TABLE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATION AND COUNTY

Grade	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
0 - 5	20.0	35.1	9.1
6 - 9	22.9	32.4	12.5
10 - 12	20.0	5.4	15.6
1 - 3 yrs. college	2.9	5.4	9.4
4 yrs. college	8.6	8.1	9.4
Graduate/Professional School	25.7	13.5	40.6

TABLE 18

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE AND COUNTY

Age Grouping	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
1 - 14 yrs.			5.9
15 - 29 yrs.	3.0	8.6	6.3
30 - 49 yrs.	36.4	22.9	40.6
50 - 64 yrs.	30.3	42.9	43.8
65 yrs. and over	30.3	25.7	6.3

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX AND COUNTY

Sex	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
Male	63.9	57.9	66.7
Female	37.1	42.1	33.3

TABLE 20

DistriBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SAMPLE AND COUNTY

Type Sample	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
Leadership	52.6	34.9	44.7
Non-leadership	47.4	65.1	55.3

TABLE 21

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY EDUCATION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

	County					
	Brooks		Burke		Peach	
Education	Sample Size	Percent Active	Sample Size	Percent Active	Sample Size	Percent Active
0 - 5th Grade	18.4	7.2	29.5	19.6	7.9	11.3
6th - 9th Grade	21.1	21.8	29.5	33.3	13.2	8.7
10th - 12th Grade	18.4	31.3	9.1	3.0	18.4	14.5
1 - 3 yrs. College	2.6	6.3	4.8	5.3	7.9	7.7
4 yrs. College	10.5	9.2	9.1	16.5	10.5	11.5
Graduate/Professional School	21.1	23.3	15.9	36.6	31.6	47.4

TABLE 22

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY AGE IN GROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

	County					
	Brooks		Burke		Peach	
Age Groupings	Sample Size	Percent Active	Sample Size	Percent Active	Sample Size	Percent Active
1 - 14 yr olds	2.6	—	2.3	—	5.3	4.7
15 - 29 yr olds	2.6	—	9.1	9.8	5.3	5.3
30 - 49 yr olds	28.9	31.9	22.7	26.1	42.1	40.9
50 - 64 yr olds	31.6	41.7	38.6	43.1	34.2	41.1
65 yrs and over	26.7	27.5	20.5	21.4	5.3	5.6

TABLE 23

COMPARISON OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BETWEEN LEADERSHIP AND NON-LEADERSHIP IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Level of Participation	County					
	Brooks		Burke		Peach	
	Leadership Percent	Non-Leadership Percent	Leadership Percent	Non-Leadership Percent	Leadership Percent	Non-Leadership Percent
I Talking Politics	80.4	30.0	89.8	44.6	92.9	58.3
II Expressing Definite Opinions	60.0	12.5	78.6	38.5	87.5	47.4
III Electoral Participation	60.1	32.3	85.0	46.5	90.9	73.0

Political participation. The reader will recall that we interviewed a 1 percent random sample of non-leadership in all three counties using a cluster block approach. We also interviewed 22.7 percent of the black leaders named in both Burke and Peach counties, and 34.5 percent of the leaders named in Brooks county. Tables 17 through 20 show the distribution of respondents according to education, age, sex and sample. We have endeavored to compare the distribution of active political participants according to education, and age with the percentage of the sample which they represent and have noted that some categories have active political participants that contribute to the total percentage political participation in excess of their proportion of the sample. We are at pains to point out, however, that these correlations may indeed be spurious since the nature of the data on hand does not show controls for other related factors in each instance.

Table 21 shows that according to education the most active political participants in Brooks county were those interviewees in the 10th and 12th grade category. Those interviewees with 1 to 3 years college were the next most active group, while interviewees with graduate and professional school education came third. In Burke county and Peach county those interviewees with graduate and professional school education were the most active political participants. In Burke county the second most active group according to education were those with four years of college. While those that completed the 6th to 9th grade came third. In Peach county the second most active group, were those with 0 to 5th grade education. Appendices II, III and IV show the statistical significance for the correlation of age, education and type sample with items

on the index of political participation.

The most active political participants in the three counties, according to age groups were the respondents in the 50–64 year old category. (See Table 22). In Brooks and Burke counties the second most active group, according to age were the 30–49 year olds with the 65 year olds and over coming third. In Peach county, while political participation is for the most part compatible with the distribution of the sample by age, only those in the 50–64 year old category contributed to active political participation at the rate far in excess to their proportion of the sample. When one looks at the distribution of the black voting age population over age groupings according to the 1970 Census, one notes that in Brooks county the 18 to 29 year old category contains 28.1 percent of the voting age population; the 30 to 49 year old category contains 29.1 percent of the voting age population; the 50 to 64 year old category contains 23.6 percent of the voting age population; and the 65 years and older category contains 19.2 percent of the voting age population. Unfortunately the data on hand does not allow for analysis of correlations between voting age population registered to vote and actual voters within each age grouping. In Burke county those in the 18–29 year old category are 28.8 percent of the black voting age population; those 30–49 years old are 28.3 percent of the black voting age population; those 50 to 64 years old are 23.4 percent of the black voting age population, and those 65 years and older are 19.6 percent of the black voting age population. However, in Peach county those 18 to 29 years of age are 47 percent of the black voting age population; those 30 to 49 years of age are 26.5 percent of the black voting age population; those 50 to 64 years old are 16.4 percent of the black voting age population; and those

65 years and over are 10.1 percent of the black voting age population.[2] In rural black communities older citizens seem to be more active political participants because they are more financially established in the community and have already built up reputations through their other endeavors. Again the style of leadership which they offer is generally perceived as less threatening by whites.

A good example of the above is seen in J. B. Stevens, who represents the successful politician for Brooks county, acceptable to the white community and respected for his business acumen in the black community. Although people in the black community speak of his sharp business practices (his clientele is all black) with a measure of hostility, his political influence is respected. He operates one of the two black funeral parlors in Quitman, Georgia. At almost retirement age (in his sixties) he was given the nod from the white community as to his acceptability for public office. However when he first came to Brooks county as the black county agricultural agent and decided to open his funeral parlor, he met with so much hostility from the white community that he had to give up his job as county agent. A motto gracing the walls of his office counsels his visitors: "Lord help me to change the things I can; Let alone the things I cannot; and give me the wisdom to know the difference."

In all three counties men were more active as political participants than women and people living in towns were generally more active

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[2]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics—Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

than those living in rural areas.

Leaders were more active as political participants than non-leaders. (See Table 23). Non-leadership participation ranged from a low of 30 percent who talked politics, 12.5 percent who expressed definite opinions and 32.2 percent who participated in electoral activity in Brooks county; to 58.3 percent who talked politics, 47.4 percent who expressed definite opinions and 73 percent who participated in electoral activity in Peach county. Burke county stands in between with 44.6 percent who talked politics, 38.5 percent who expressed definite opinions and 46.5 percent who participated in electoral activity.

Leadership participation in talking politics in Brooks county was 80.4 percent, in Burke county 89.8 percent, and in Peach county 92.9 percent. When it comes to expressing definite opinions in Brooks county, participation dropped to 60.0 percent among leadership, in Burke county to 78.6 percent and in Peach county to 87.5 percent. In the area of electoral participation, 60.1 percent among Brooks county leadership, 85 percent among Burke county leadership and 90 percent among the Peach county leadership were active in this area.

The reader will have noticed a pattern of variation among the active political participants in the three counties with Peach having the highest level of participation on all three dimensions, Burke county is second, and Brooks county last. We examined the social and economic characteristics of the three counties paying particular attention to the data which have been identified by Everett Ladd as indicators of potential political participants. Those indicators are:

(1) Median family income;

(2) Percentage of families earning over $5,000;

(3) Percentage with some college;

(4) Percentage of the work force in white collar jobs.[3]

Ladd's thesis hypothesizes a relationship between socio-economic factors and race advancement in voting, direct action and related activity. The implication is that the lower the black sub-community on the socio-economic ladder the more likely the black population of the area is to be too poor, toolacking in skills necessary for political participation to sustain. a high level of political activity.[4] Table 24 shows how Brooks, Burke and Peach counties stand according to Ladd's indicators. While we notice a marked move up the socio-economic ladder when either Brooks or Burke are compared and contrasted with Peach county; we can find no basis for noted differences between Brooks and Burke counties. Indeed, Brooks is a slight cut above Burke county on the socio-economic indicators in Ladd's index and thus the index is not very useful in explaining why political participation in Burke county respondents scored higher than Brooks county. Neither is it very useful in explaining why Burke county has a more active and more nationalistic black political history than Brooks county. The extensiveness of the black political history is evidence of the capabilities of the black community for political activity. Therefore, there is need for new criteria for looking at the capabilities of black communities which take into consideration such factors as the extent of industrial penetration in attempting to assess the extent of rural peionage; the opportunities of the black community for

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[3]Everett Carll Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 65-66.

[4]Ibid., pp. 65-67.

TABLE 24

APPLICATION OF THE LADD INDICATORS OF POTENTIAL POLITICAL PARTICIPANTS TO BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Indicators	Brooks	Burke	Peach
Total Number of Black Families	1268	2196	1591
Total Black Population	6343	10,988	9154
Number of Blacks in Work Force	1951	2690	2873
1) Median black family income	$3,353	$2,800	$5,477
2) Percentage of families earning over $5,000	25.0	22.8	55.8
3) Percentage with some c college	2.6	1.7	19.1[a]
4) Percentage of work force in white collar jobs	7.7	6.2	15.0

Source: U. S..Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics--Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

[a]12.8 percent are classified as college students and 6.3 percent are 25 yr. olds or above. Even so Peach county has more of its share of the "talented tenth" than does Brooks or Burke counties.

culture contact with outside forces. The first variable involves an assessment of the whole community, while the second looks at the black community only.

For example, in Brooks county there were twelve industries listed in the Georgia Manufacturing Directory for 1972 as providing employment for 497 persons or 5.8 percent of the total voting age population.[5]

[5]See Table 7 at page 28; also see 1972 Georgia Manufacturing Directory (Atlanta: State Demographic Data Center, 1972).

Another 8.9 percent or 761 persons commute out of the county to work.[6] Of that number 441 or 5.1 percent of the voting age population in Brooks county commute to Lowndes county where the federal installation, Moody A. F. B., is located as well as certain other nationally-known industries such as Owen-Illinois and a Levi pants factory.

Twenty-three industries in Burke county provide employment for 1,799 people or 17.4 percent of the voting age population; while 1,396 people or 13.5 percent of the voting age population join the outgoing commuting work force from the county. Of the people commuting, 783 people commute to the Augusta-Richmond county metropolitan center. Fort Gordon military base is located in Richmond county.

Twenty industries in Peach county provide employment for 2,095 persons or 20.8 percent of the voting age population. Another 1,694 people (16.9 percent) are in the out-flowing commuter work force. Of that number, 423 or 4.1 percent commute to the Macon-Bibb county metropolitan area, while another 1,058 or 10.6 percent commute to Houston county. The federal installation, Warner Robbins A. F. B., is located there.

Census data also show that 45.2 percent of the total work force in Brooks county, 55.5 percent in Burke county and 56.9 percent in Peach county were employed in industrial or commercial type occupations. Of these percentages 16.1 percent in Brooks county, 24.1 percent in Burke county and 24.9 percent in Peach county are black members of the labor force. These might be construed to mean that there is likely to be a larger working class or proletariat ethos among blacks in Burke and Peach county than in Brooks county. We did note that more blacks in Burke and

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[6] See Table 6 at p. 27.

Peach counties expressed a willingness to participate in pressure group activity than in Brooks county. (See Table 28).

On the subject of opportunities for culture contact between blacks and outside forces that can inject new ideas into the black community the following factors seem relevant:

1. The number of blacks in the voting age population who have had some college;

2. The existence of black culture centers relatively independent from the local power structure;

3. The percentage of respondents in the study who have seen, listened to, or read about at least one nationally-known black organization;

4. The percentage of respondents in the study who have seen, listened to, or read about at least one nationally-known black leader;

5. The number of outside organizations which black leaders have indicated that they had occasion to consult;

6. The instruments of mass media in the homes of respondents and their media preferences for giving the true picture of politics or public affairs for a black person.

It is in the interest of the Southern traditional leadership to maintain their black communities in a state of isolation. That is why Southern whites always blame the political activities in black communities on outside agitators or communist infiltration. Rural peonage virtually maintains blacks in a state of subjugation. Their economic plight tends to make hope of escaping futile. Therefore, the more rural peonage is reduced the more blacks can have their expectations raised and the more they can feel an affinity with blacks in other areas. In this the introduction of technology into farming, especially that which resulted in pushing blacks off the farm and into occupations where they can come into contact with others who share their work situation—movement from

peasant to proletariat status—might be considered a good thing because it sets the stage for the development of class if not race consciousness.

In Brooks county it was found that of the black voting age population, only 4.9 percent (166 persons) had been away to college, while in Burke county only 184 persons or 3.3 percent of the black voting age population had had some college. In Peach county 31.5 percent (1,746 persons) of the black voting age population had had some college.[7] There are 1,170 persons in Peach county who are listed as students as compared with 24 in Brooks and 56 in Burke counties. When statistics are adjusted for these factors we still find that 4.1 percent in Brooks county, 2.3 percent in Burke county and 10.3 percent in Peach county have had some college.

Brooks county had no independent black culture centers to act as either a source of cultural enrichment through its introduction of potential political leaders from outside the community or through its provision of potential political participants that hold the balance of power in the ratio of black to white voting age population. In Burke county there is Boggs Academy, a black private secondary school under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. Its value to the Burke county black community is as a source of cultural enrichment and potential political leadership provided by conscientious persons on the staff of the school. In Peach county the predominantly black state college serves as both a culture contact point for the influx of new ideas as well as providing potential political participants for the black community. It is their presence which also makes the difference in the distribution of the black voting

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[7]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population, Table 6.

age population over age-groupings. The 18 to 29 year old category is 47 percent of the black voting age population.

Again in Brooks county 38.7 percent of the respondents in this study indicated that they had read about, seen or listened to at least one nationally-known black leader, while 27.7 percent said that they had read about, seen or listened to at least one of the black nationally-known organizations on the questionnaire. These figures are compared with 35.2 percent in Burke county and 40.1 percent in Peach county who had read about, seen, or listened to at least one nationally-known black leaders listed on the questionnaire. Also 21.5 percent in Burke county, 32.7 percent in Peach county said that they had seen, read about, or listened to a representative of at least one nationally-known black organization.

Leaders in Brooks county indicated that they had occasion to seek consultations with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Those in Burke county indicated that they had had contact with the Voter Education Project, the Federation of Southern Rural Cooperatives, the N.A.A.C.P., the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Department of Agriculture. In Peach county leaders indicated that they had had occasion to call on Voter Education Project, the N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C., and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Also leaders who are employees of the college have rapport with a number of federal and state agencies which they have used in support of various poverty programs for the black community.

Research on the availability of mass media in the homes of respon-

ents and their specific preferences in giving them the "true picture" about politics or public affairs tend to support Robert E. Lane's hypothesis.[8] Television tended to have the wides audience in all three counties. It crossed socio-economic lines. It was found that in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties only two of the 117 respondents answering the question did not have a television. It was also found that more respondents in each county named television as their first preference in giving the true picture of politics or public affairs. Sixty-six and seven-tenths percent in Brooks,county, 31 percent in Burke county and 61.3 percent in Peach county cited television as their first preference.

Slightly fewer blacks had radios in their homes than had television. For instance, 115 televisions were found among 117 respondents while 106 radios were found. While only 11.1 percent of the interviewees in Brooks county, 12.8 percent in Burke county and 3.2 percent in Peach county named radio as their first preference; 52.8 percent, 27 percent and 35.7 percent in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties named radio as their second preference. Respondents who preferred radio as a first preference cited their partiality to the news reporting on national black network radio stations.

There were only weekly newspapers published locally in all three counties. However, in Brooks county it was found that 18 out of 37 respondents subscribed to daily newspapers from outside the county as compared with 22 respondents who subscribed to weekly newspapers. In Burke county 22 out of 43 respondents subscribed to daily newspapers as compared with 29 out of 43 who subscribed to weekly newspapers. Twenty-

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[8]Robert E. Lane, Political Life (New York: The Free Press, 1959), p.ap. 6.

five out of 38 respondents in Peach county subscribed to daily newspapers, and 21 out of 38 respondents subscribed to weekly newspapers.

For their first media preference, 66.7 percent of the respondents in Brooks county chose television; 11.1 percent chose radio, another 11.1 percent chose magazines; 8.3 percent chose the daily newspaper and 2.8 percent chose weekly newspapers. (See Table 25). In Burke county, for their first media preference 41 percent of the respondents chose television, 12.8 percent chose radio; 17.9 percent chose the daily newspaper; 10.3 percent chose magazines and periodicals; 7.7 percent chose the weekly newspaper; and 5.1 percent each chose black magazines and black newspapers. Sixty-one percent and three-tenths of the respondents in Peach county chose television as their first media preference; 3.2 percent chose radio; 19.4 percent chose the daily newspaper; none chose the weekly newspaper; 6.5 percent each chose magazines and periodicals, and black newspapers; and 3.2 percent chose black magazines.

Again, 22.2 percent of the people chose the daily newspaper as their second media preference for giving the true picture of politics or public affairs. In Burke county the daily newspaper was chosen by 17.9 percent of the respondents as their first media preference. Another 24.3 percent chose it as a second media preference. Nineteen and four-tenths percent the daily newspaper as their first media preference in Peach county, 17.9 percent as a second media preference and 20.8 percent as a third media preference. Attention is directed to these factors as indications that they are points of contact with the world outside the locally conscribed black community.

In this same line of thinking, we found that more people in Brooks

TABLE 25

INSTRUMENTS OF MASS MEDIA AVAILABLE IN THE HOMES AND MEDIA PREFERENCES AMONG RESPONDENTS IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Instruments of Mass Media Available	County Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
1. Television	97.3	95.5	97.4
2. Radio	89.5	86.4	89.5
3. Daily Newspaper	44.7	47.7	65.8
4. Weekly Newspaper	63.2	68.2	52.6
5. Magazines and Periodicals	63.2	52.3	68.4
6. Black Newspapers	21.1	31.8	26.3
7. Black Magazines	42.1	40.9	57.9

County	Instruments of Mass Media	1st Preference Percent	2nd Preference Percent	3rd Preference Percent
Brooks	1. Television	66.7	13.9	11.8
	2. Radio	11.1	52.8	17.6
	3. Daily Newspaper	8.3	22.2	32.4
	4. Weekly Newspaper	2.8	5.6	11.8
	5. Magazines and Periodicals	—	2.8	11.8
	6. Black Newspapers	—	—	8.8
	7. Black Magazines	11.1	2.8	5.9
	N =	36	36	34
Burke	1. Television	41.0	32.4	27.6
	2. Radio	12.8	27.0	24.1
	3. Daily Newspaper	17.9	24.3	13.8
	4. Weekly Newspaper	7.7	—	12.8
	5. Magazines and Periodicals	10.3	2.7	—
	6. Black Newspapers	5.1	5.4	3.4
	7. Black Magazines	5.1	5.4	13.8
	N =	39	37	29
Peach	1. Television	61.3	25.0	12.5
	2. Radio	3.2	35.7	16.7
	3. Daily Newspaper	19.4	17.9	20.8
	4. Weekly Newspaper	—	3.6	8.3
	5. Magazines and Periodicals	6.5	7.1	16.7
	6. Black Newspapers	6.5	—	12.5
	7. Black Magazines	3.2	10.7	12.5
	N =	31	28	24

and Peach counties subscribed to magazines and periodicals than either daily or weekly newspapers, while in Burke county the number of respondents who subscribed to magazines and periodicals exceeded that of those who subscribed to daily newspapers only. In all three counties black newspapers had the fewest subscribers of all the media considered, including black magazines. In Brooks county as many respondents preferred black magazines as radio for a first media preference. However, in most instances black media received fewer citations as either a first, second, or third preference. Where black media was prefered Ebony Magazine and Mohammad Speaks were the most widely read black media in each county.

According to respondents' answer to the question: Which of the media available in your home do you consider to give the true picture about politics or public affairs; television and radio have the biggest impact; the daily newspaper comes third in Brooks and Peach counties; and weekly newspapers come third in Burke county. The black media's direct political influence might be considered negligible.

Benjamin D. Singer and Diane Fowlkes have both advanced theories that hypothesize a special transformation function, or capacity to mobilize, in the case of Fowlkes, imputed to mass media (particularly television) with respect to the political socialization of black people.[9] Singer argues that television has the following effect on blacks:

> As the effect of black poverty's increasing density takes hold, commitment to local institutions drops off and individuals, after being turned inward away from the neighborhood, then

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[9]Benjamin D. Singer, "Mass Society, Mass Media and the Transformation of Minority Identity," British Journal of Sociology 24, No. 2 (June 1973); and Diane Fowlkes, "Differential Effects of Mass Media and the Family in the Political Mobilization of Peripheral Social Groupings,"

> have their vision oriented to something larger than their immediate area, away from localism and toward what Warren has described as 'involvement with the larger community.' But this medium (television) by which concern is transformed establishes linkages, not with the white social system, but with a symbolic community. This symbolic community is black.[10]

Propensity for political action. Measures of overt participation have the limitation of addressing themselves to activity in the recent past or present. Differences in degree of political participation reflect a number of factors such as social stratification, potential prestige, degree of information about politics and political affairs, as well as interest in local affairs. In the black community it may also reflect the extent to which negative economic sanctions are imposed on politically active persons in the community. Verl R. W. Franz and D. G. Marshall have tried to circumvent these limitations by addressing themselves to the socio-emotional commitment of individuals to community action. What would political participation look like if the above restraining factors were neutralized? Franz and Marshall constructed a scale designed to measure respondents' willingness to engage in community action. Their nine item scale is addressed to contributions of varying amounts of time, money and effort in attempting to solve problems which respondents have previously delineated. Items on the Franz-Marshall scale are:

1. Give a full day's pay.
2. Give your spare time two evenings a week.
3. Serve on a committee.

Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1974.

[10]Singer, "Mass Society, Mass Media and the Transformation of Minority Identity," p. 144.

4. Agree to a 1 percent tax increase.

5. Give two hours pay.

6. Give your spare time one evening a week.

7. Give one-half day's pay.

8. Sign a petition.

9. Give a half-day's spare time on Saturday.[11]

The Franz-Marshall idea of investigating the socio-emotional commitment to community action has been adopted in this study. The non-leadership sample were asked a number of questions regarding their willingness to pursue certain kinds of activity as a means of remedying the problems which they had delineated. It is recognized that a number of factors militate against mass black political participation in the rural context, including economic reprisals and the lack of adequate information channels in the black community.

In investigating the socio-emotional commitment to community action two basic kinds of questions were asked: (1) What is the nature of the community with which blacks identify; and (2) What kinds of strategies time and effort are respondents willing to engage in in pursuit of solutions to problems they have identified? Four items on the schedule attempted to find out respondents' socio-emotional commitment to community. The individual was asked what his general reply was to strangers who asked him where he was from and a note made as to whether he identified with (1) the county-at-large; (2) the nearest town or village; or

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[11]Merwyn Nelson, Verl R. W. Franz and D. G. Marshall, "The Franz-Marshall Scale of Commitment for Community Action." Rural Sociology 34 No. 3 (September 1969): 396-401.

(3) a local sub-community. He was then asked how he felt about living in the community: (1) very good, (2) good; (3) not very good; or (4) not good at all. Then respondents were asked whether they always identified with the community in which they lived; and whether or not there were any meeting places in his community where he and friends often gathered? It was found that only 15.8 percent of the interviewees in Brooks county and 20.2 percent in Burke county identified with the county-at-large. There were no respondents in Peach county who identified with the county-at-large. Twenty-three and seven-tenths percent in Brooks, 34.1 percent in Burke and 23.7 percent in Peach counties identified with the nearest town or village. (See Table 26). By and large more people fell into the category of identifying with the local sub-community than any other category--with 31.6 percent in Brooks county, 40.9 percent in Burke county and 68.8 percent in Peach county falling into this category. If identification is one of the major factors in political mobilization, the fact that a significant number o black people in the three counties tend to identify with the local sub-communities has implications for the future of political development in the black community. On the local level the problem of black unity suffers from competing neighborhood loyalties that defy attempts to wield blacks in the county into a viable political unit.

Overwhelmingly, 85 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 81.8 percent in Burke and 86.9 percent in Peach counties felt good or very good about living in their communities, while 94.8 percent, 97.7 percent and 97.4 percent in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties, respectively, always identified with their residential communities. Sixty-five

TABLE 26

PATTERNS OF COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Community Identification	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
1. Identifies with the County-at-large	15.8	20.5	—
2. Identifies with the nearest town or village	23.7	34.1	23.7
3. Identifies with the local sub-community	31.6	40.9	68.4

and eight-tenths percent in Brooks county, 65.9 percent in Burke county and 53.6 percent in Peach counties said that there were places in their communities where they met their friends often. Churches were the most often named places in Brooks (with 67.9 percent of those responding giving this answer) and in Burke 66.7 percent of the people responding gave this answer. Homes of individuals were the most often named meeting places in Peach county. (See Table 27).

The socio-emotional commitment scale to strategies consisted of three types of items: (1) those dealing with contributions of time, effort and money in general; (2) those dealing with traditional types of participation in electoral and pressure group activity; and (3) those dealing with direct action strategies which have become nationally known as a result of their use in the civil rights and black power movements.

Out of two items dealing with willingness to make monetary contributions, an average of 34.8 percent of the interviewees in Brooks county, 54.3 percent of those in Burke county and 70.4 percent of those in Peach

TABLE 27

MOST FREQUENTLY NAMED COMMUNITY GATHERING PLACES IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Type Gathering Places	County Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
1. Churches	66.7	67.9	20.0
2. Homes	10.0	14.3	55.0
3. Clubs	16.7	—	10.0
4. Community Centers	—	7.1	10.0

county indicated that they would be willing to contribute financial support toward the solution of problems they had delineated. Most of those answering so were vague as to the frequency with which they were willing to contribute, and a decided drop in willingness was noted when the question of whether or not they would agree to a 1 percent tax increase was raised. Only 18.8 percent in Brooks county, 30.8 percent in Burke county and 50 percent in Peach county were so willing. Even so, when one compared the willingness to make monetary contributions with the economic plight of blacks in rural counties, particularly Brooks and Burke counties, the generosity of the people becomes more apparent.

More people were evidently willing to give more of their time and effort than money in pursuit of the solutions to problems they had delineated. Sixty-seven and five-tenths percent in Brooks county were willing to contribute spare time, serve on a committee, or sign a petition in pursuance of their pet political grievances in the black community, as compared with 80 percent in Burke county and 87.5 percent in Peach county.

Closely related to this, there was 54.5 percent in Brooks county, 61.9 percent in Burke county and 80 percent in Peach county who were willing to ally themselves with parties or pressure groups, i.e., join the Democratic or Republican party and/or help organize an all-black party or organization. According to the number of respondents in Peach county who answered yes to the different items, helping to organize an all-black party or organization ranked first (81 percent), joining the Democratic party ranked second (68.2 percent) and joining the Republican party came last (28.6 percent). In Brooks and Burke county joining the Democratic party ranked first (74.3 percent in Brooks and 65.4 percent in Burke). Organizing an all-black party or organization ranked second (with 54.5 percent in Brooks county and 61.9 percent in Burke county); while joining the Republican party came last with only 12 percent in Brooks and 15.4 percent in Burke counties feeling so inclined.

It is necessary to point out that the field work for this dissertation was undertaken during the height of the watergate investigation and therefore respondents were probably expressing their disenchantment with the Nixon administration as well as recognition of the fact that the Democratic party was (in Brooks and Burke counties at least) the only visible party on the local political scene. A recent part of black strategy for gaining political power in Peach county involved allying themselves with the newly reorganized Republican party in that county.

When electoral activity is considered, 58.4 percent in Brooks, 61.9 percent in Burke and 80 percent in Peach counties expressed willingness to either register to vote or to bloc vote, or perhaps both. Fewer respondents in all three counties were willing to engage in direct

action strategies than in electoral activity. Types of direction action strategies which the questionnaire schedule proposed are as follows: Would you be willing to participate in: a sit-in or demonstration; a boycott or picket, or would you be willing to trade only with those businesses that support the black community? Of the three items addressed to direct action strategies, fewer people were willing to participate in a boycott or picket (only 29.6 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 38.5 percent in Burke county and 56.4 percent in Peach county indicated their willingness.) More respondents seemed willing to trade only with those businesses that support the black community. Seventy-five percent of Brooks county, 70.8 percent in Burke county and 83.3 percent in Peach county were willing. The sit-in or demonstration came in between with only 29.6 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 40 percent in Burke county and 62.5 percent in Peach county expressing willingness. Thus the overall extent to which the non-leadership sample were willing to engage in direct action strategies were 42.3 percent in Brooks county, 49.8 percent in Burke county and 67.8 percent in Peach county. (See Table 28).

The last category of socio-emotional commitment to strategies is that of violent confrontation. In this respect only 23.8 percent of the interviewees in Brooks county, 25 percent of those in Burke county and 20 percent of those in Peach county indicated their willingness to participate in strategies of this kind.

Blacks in rural Georgia, particularly Burke and Brooks counties, have not been very successful in political strategies that allow them to change the status quo from within the political system. Therefore, one

TABLE 28

SOCIO-EMOTIONAL COMMITMENT TO POLITICAL ACTION AMONG NON-LEADERSHIP IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES: WILLINGNESS OF PEOPLE TO ENGAGE IN SELECTED POLITICAL STRATEGIES

Type Strategies	County		
	Brooks Percent	Burke Percent	Peach Percent
Percentage of people who would do or participate in the following:			
1. Monetary Contribution	34.8	54.3	70.4
2. Direct Action	42.3	49.8	67.4
3. Pressure Group Participation	54.4	61.9	80.0
4. Electoral Activity	58.4	61.9	80.0
5. Contribution of time and effort	67.5	80.0	80.0
6. Violent Confrontation	23.8	25.0	20.0

would have to identify the socio-emotional commitment to confrontation strategies as change-oriented attitudes. In this context sit-ins, demonstrations and marches, pickets, selective buying campaigns as well as the resort to violence may be considered confrontation strategies. If the level of socio-emotional commitments which is expressed by non-leadership respondents in this study is any indication of support for these strategies found in the masses, the prospects for change in rural Georgia is indeed encouraging.

Leadership perceptions of community support. One of the areas under investigation in this study is identifying those strategic options which leaders felt they had in their respective communities based upon

their perception of how those strategies would be received by their followings. We attempted also to coordinate items on the leadership and non-leadership schedules to make possible comparison of the reactions of both samples on five topics: (1) monetary contributions; (2) direct action; (3) pressure group activity; (4) electoral activity; and (5) violent confrontation. Leadership respondents were asked to indicate whether they felt that most people in their community would be most likely to (1) approve of and participate in; (2) approve of only (identified as the middle of the road course); or (3) disapprove of the following political action.

I Financial contributions to political causes

II Direct action

- Holding mass rallies and assemblies
- Trading only with those businesses that support the black community
- Boycotting and picketing
- Holding demonstrations and sit-ins

III Pressure Group Activity

- Formation of political parties by blacks
- Forming labor unions
- Joining labor unions

IV Electoral Activity

- Joining the Democratic party
- Joining the Republican party
- Voting
- Bloc voting

V Violent Confrontation or show of weapons

Data show that in Brooks county 68.4 percent of the respondents felt that they could expect the participatory support of their community in the form of financial contributions to political causes. Another 15.8 percent felt that they could expect passive support of aprroval only from the

community. Sixty and eight-tenths percent of the Brooks county leadership also felt that they could get participatory support for direct action strategies, while 9.5 percent felt that only passive support could be expected. On the question of pressure group activity, 60 percent of the leaders in Brooks county felt that their community would most likely participate, and another 20 percent felt that this type of activity would find only passive support in their community. Sixty-nine and five-tenths percent of the leaders expected participatory support for electoral activity, while another 11.5 percent expected passive approval only for electoral activity. The leadership in Brooks county felt that violent confrontation had the possiblity for participatory support in their community. Forty-six and seven-tenths percent expected this kind of support if the occasion ever became necessary for there to be a show of weapons. Leaders are evidently more militant-oriented than non-leaders. Perhaps this is why there is such an attitude of disillusionment among black leaders in Brooks county as expressed in their recent black political history.

In Table 29, the percentage of leaders expecting participatory support from their community is compared with the percentage of persons from the non-leadership sample who expressed willingness to engage in those strategies in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties. In Brooks county on all five topics of political action, it was found that leadership expectations exceeded the socio-emotional commitment of the non-leadership. The topics with least observed differences are pressure group activity where leadership expectations are only 5.5 percent above non-leadership willingness (leadership expectations are 60 percent and non-leadership

TABLE 29

COMPARISON OF LEADERSHIP EXPECTATIONS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION WITH NON-LEADERSHIP COMMITMENT TO POLITICAL ACTION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

	Type Activity/Strategy				
County	Monetary Contribution Percent	Direct Action Percent	Pressure Group Participation Percent	Electoral Activity Percent	Violent Confrontation Percent
Brooks					
1. Leadership Expectations	68.4	60.8	60.0	69.5	46.7
2. Non-Leadership Willingness	34.8	42.3	54.4	58.4	23.8
Burke					
1. Leadership Expectations	42.9	29.9	27.3	52.8	8.3
2. Non-Leadership Willingness	54.3	49.8	54.8	61.9	25.0
Peach					
1. Leadership Expectations	81.5	57.5	37.3	39.3	11.8
2. Non-Leadership Willingness	70.4	64.4	80.0	80.0	20.0

willingness is 54.4 percent); and electoral activity with a difference of 11.1 percent between leadership expectations (69.5 percent) and non-leadership willingness (58.4 percent).

In Burke county 42.9 percent of the leaders expected participatory support in making financial contributions to political causes. Another 35.7 percent felt that they could count on passive support from their community. This figure compares with 54.3 percent of the non-leadership sample expressing willingness to contribute. Whereas, only 29.9 percent of the leaders felt that the black community could be counted on to actively support direct action strategies (33.6 percent felt that they could expect passive support); 49.8 percent of the non-leadership respondents indicated their inclinations in this direction. Twenty-seven and three-tenths percent of the leaders in Burke county felt that the black community would actively participate in pressure group activity. Another 27.3 percent of the leaders felt that pressure group activity would receive passive support in the black community. Leader expectations of active support is to be compared with 61.9 percent in the non-leadership sample expressing their willingness to engage in pressure group activity.

When electoral activity is considered, 52.8 percent of the leaders in Burke County felt that their community could be counted on to actively participate in electoral activity (another 19.3 percent expected passive support) as compared with 61.9 percent of the non-leadership respondents expressing their willingness to participate in electoral activity. Only 8.3 percent of the leaders in Burke county expressed active support for violent confrontation (with 16.7 percent expecting passive support), as compared with 25 percent of the non-leadership interviewees who expressed

their willingness. In all three counties violent confrontation was looked upon as a last resort to be used when all else fails, and then only as a matter of self-defense.

In Peach county, it was found that 81.5 percent of the leaders interviewed had expectations of participatory support through monetary contributions from their community. This is to be compared with 70.4 percent of the non-leadership respondents expressing willingness in that direction. Only 3.7 percent of the Peach county leadership expected passive support from monetary contributions. Fifty-seven and five-tenths percent of the leadership in Peach county expected active participation in direct action strategies (15.4 percent—passive support), as compared with 64.4 percent of the non-leadership sample who expressed willingness in that direction. Only 37.3 percent of the leadership interviewed in Peach county felt that they could expect active participation in pressure group activity, with 13.6 percent expecting socio-emotional commitment to both participation in pressure group activity and electoral activity. In the latter instance the range of agreement between leadership expectations and non-leadership willingness is closest, with 79.3 percent of the leaders expecting active participation as compared with 80 percent non-leadership willingness to participate.in electoral activity. The expectations of community active support for violent confrontation show that 11.8 percent of the leaders in Peach county felt that active participation could be counted on as compared with 20 percent of the non-leadership respondents expressing their willingness.

Data seem to suggest that in comparisons between leadership respondents' expectations and non-leadership respondents' willingness to

participate, leaders in Burke and Peach counties tended to be more conservative than non-leaders. Leaders in Burke county tended to underestimate the extent to which their community could be counted on for active support for the various strategies identified in this study; and with one exception, leaders in Peach county also tended to under-estimate the extent of active support available in the community. Cooperation between leaders and their following is always conditioned by whether or not there is mutual agreement on the goals for community action, and their relative importance in the hierarchy of values.

Ingroup Consciousness and Black Nationalism

Ingroup consciousness and black nationalism are hypothesized in this dissertation as relevant orientations for instructing black political behavior. In this connection a portion of the questionnaire schedule contained an index of black nationalism made up of Likert-type statements supporting or denouncing ingroup consciousness and cultural nationalism. The black nationalism index for non-leadership consisted of twenty-six items while the leadership index contained thirty items.

Several levels of ingroup consciousness have been identified. They include: (1) Black identity—the perception that their common plight in the American political and economic system is a basis for concerted action on the part of blacks; (2) Ingroup political trust/cynicism—expressed faith in the basic humanitarianism and the ability to engage in concerted political action. This level of ingroup consciousness addresses itself to the extent to which collective political action is perceived as a possibility; (3) Black cultural nationalism—expressions

of pride in racial identity, recognition of bonds with Africa, belief in self-determination and maintenance of cultural integrity, and recognition that black conditions may be due to factors other than lack of personal initiative.

Black identity. Statements addressed to ingroup identity weee: (1) In order to make it in this country one has to think in terms of the survival of the group instead of the individual; (2) I like to think of myself as one of a large group made up of other black Americans all over the United States; (3) Black people should identify with and vote for a candidate because he is black. On the question of group survival orientation as opposed to every man for himself, 62.2 percent of the interviewees in Brooks county, 66.7 percent of those in Peach county and 88.1 percent in Burke county were pro-nationalistic (agreeing with the statements); while 58.3 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 72.2 percent of those in Peach county and 92.7 percent of the respondents in Burke county indicated that they liked to identify with a black collectivity all over the United States. This is an important power balancing variable for isolated rural communities. Blacks who feel so can, with the proper mobilization, gain the courage to confront their locally conscribed social orders by allying themselves with black political activity in other communities. It seems logical then that the county with the largest number of respondents identifying with a black collectivity all over the United States—Burke county—also has the most nationalist recent black political history.

Only 39.9 percent of the respondents in Brooks county were willing to identify with and vote for a candidate because he was black as opposed

to only 17.6 percent in Peach county. (See Table 30). People in Burke county were evidently more nationalist-oriented in this respect. Fifty-two and four-tenths percent of the respondents felt that black people should identify with a candidate because of shared skin color. Apparently ingroup identity as it operates in the area of supporting black candidates for the sake of race alone is subjected to the same arguments as those against blind support of party. For the enlightened voter a man's qualifications, platform and position are determinants of whether or not you vote for him. People were evidently not indiscriminately disposed to support blacks for the sake of ingroup solidarity. Further light is shed on this in the political trust/cynicism dimension.

Political trust/cynicism. In attempting to guage political trust/cynicism the following statements were included in the survey schedule: (1) I would not vote for a black leader until I am sure I can trust him; (2) Black people will not stick together; (3) Political clubs are a waste of time; (4) Personally, I think such things as black power, black is beautiful, black nationalism, etc., will pass away as other fashions; (5) most black politicians serve themselves in public office rather than the people who helped elect them. It was anticipated that the pro-nationalist would disagree basically with these five statements. In this respect it was found that only 35.1 percent of the interviewees in Brooks county, 47.6 percent in Burke county, and 55.6 percent in Peach county disagreed with the first statement; while 23.7 percent in Brooks county, 19 percent in Burke county and 30.6 percent in Peach county disagreed with the second statement. Considerably more respondents in all three counties saw the value of political clubs with 61.8 percent in Brooks,

TABLE 30

INDEX OF INGROUP CONSCIOUSNESS AND BLACK NATIONALISM BY COUNTY AS EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES[a]

Topic	Brooks		Burke		Peach	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Black Identity						
1. In order to make it in this country one has to think in terms of the survival of the group instead of the individual.	62.2	8.1	88.6	9.5	66.7	25.0
2. I like to think of myself as one of a large group made up of other black Americans all over the United States	58.3	13.9	92.7	7.3	72.2	19.4
3. Black people should identify with and vote for a candidate because he is black.	39.9	50.0	47.6	52.4	17.6	70.6
Political Trust/Cynicism						
4. I would not vote for a black leader until I am sure I can trust him.	48.6	35.1	45.2	47.6	36.1	55.6
5. Black people will not stick together	65.8	23.7	76.2	19.0	61.1	30.6
6. Political clubs are a waste of time.	17.6	61.8	19.4	63.9	11.8	73.5
7. Personally, I think such things as black power, black is beautiful, black nationalism, etc., will pass away as other fashions.	63.2	21.1	71.4	22.9	63.9	22.2
8. Most black politicians serve themselves in public office rather than the people who help them.	38.9	44.4	43.9	39.0	48.6	45.9
Pride in Racial Identity						
9. I would rather be called "Negro" than "Black."	28.9	52.6	51.2	51.7	25.0	50.0
10. Black people have never done anything to be proud of.	5.4	94.6	7.1	90.5	5.7	88.6
11. No hair style is as beautiful on a black person as the "Afro" or naturale.	19.4	66.7	51.2	34.1	25.7	60.0
12. All black people ought to know about their ancestors and other famous Negroes in history that form a part of their heritage	84.2	5.3	97.6	2.4	91.4	5.7
13. Blacks should wear African styles of dress to show pride in being black	18.4	68.4	15.4	59.4	16.2	70.3

TABLE 30—Continued

Topic	Brooks Agree	Brooks Disagree	Burke Agree	Burke Disagree	Peach Agree	Peach Disagree
14. It is disrespectful and insulting to be called by my first name by whites without my permission.	67.6	27.0	78.0	22.0	68.6	25.7
Recognition of Bonds with Africa						
15. Black people should call themselves African-Americans or Afro-Americans because their forefathers came from the continent of Africa.	28.9	42.1	35.7	38.1	33.3	52.8
16. The black man should look to Africa as his homeland.	26.3	65.8	45.2	45.2	22.9	68.6
17. The only way one can really solve the problems of blacks is to go back to Africa.	10.5	84.2	11.9	83.3	2.3	88.9
Explanations of the Black Predicament						
18. Poor blacks have no one to blame but themselves for their conditions.	10.5	71.1	30.2	53.5	72.2	19.4
19. Most blacks on welfare can take care of themselves if they really wanted to.	37.8	45.9	54.8	38.1	33.3	61.1
Maintenance of Cultural Distinctiveness						
20. White children and black children should go to different schools.	73.7	18.4	81.0	16.7	72.2	8.3
21. The idea of black separation is unrealistic	34.3	22.9	62.5	22.5	51.4	27.0
22. Black people everywhere should be in charge of ruling themselves	36.1	30.6	51.2	46.3	41.7	41.7
Goals of Black Power (Leadership only)						
23. The real goal of black power is to put control of organizations in the black community into the hands of blacks.	20.0	65.0	17.6	70.6	56.3	37.5
24. Black power symbolizes the unity of black people in their bargaining with government and industry.	55.0	10.0	75.0	18.8	87.5	12.5
25. The true goal of black power is to serve as a base for more effective integration into the American mainstream.	75.0	5.0	71.4	21.4	62.5	31.3

TABLE 30—Continued

Topic	Brooks Agree	Brooks Disagree	Burke Agree	Burke Disagree	Peach Agree	Peach Disagree
26. Black power is a strategy to get black officials elected to office.	55.0	35.0	20.0	80.0	37.5	50.0
Political Efficacy						
27. My vote will have little or no influence on the outcome of an election.	16.2	67.6	19.5	70.7	16.2	78.4
28. People who run the government will not listen to people like me and my family.	44.4	47.2	50.0	40.0	27.8	58.3
Miscellaneous						
29. Busing on behalf of public school integration is worthwhile.	54.3	22.9	57.5	32.5	54.3	34.3
30. Negroes should spend more time praying and less time demonstrating.	52.8	38.9	42.9	42.9	32.4	56.8

[a]Percentages do not total 100 percent because the undecided category is omitted from the table.

county, 63.9 percent in Burke county and 73.5 percent in Peach county disagreeing with the statement that political clubs were a waste of time. Most respondents in all three counties were skeptical about the duration of the cultural nationalist and black power movements. Only 21.1 percent of the respondents in Brooks county, 22.9 percent in Burke county and 22.2 percent in Peach county disagreed with the fourth statement. On the question of trusting black politicians to serve the ends of the black electorate, 44.4 percent in Brooks county, 39 percent in Burke county and 45.9 percent in Peach county disagreed with the fifth statement. When belief in the utility of political clubs is omitted, people in all three counties showed a high degree of political cynicism regarding the possibilities of black collective action and a lack of faith in black leaders. An average of 68.9 percent of the respondents in Brooks county 67.9 percent of those in Burke county and 61.4 percent of those in Peach county expressed the cynical view on four of the five indicators of political trust/cynicism. On this dimension of black nationalism then attitudes in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties change.

Cultural nationalism. Six items on the black nationalism index were addressed to pride in racial identity. Two are statements that denounced the pro-nationalist position: (1) I would rather be called "Negro" than "Black", and (2) Black people have never done anything to be proud of. While four are pro-nationalist assertions: (2) No hair style is as beautiful on a black person as the "Afro" or naturale; (4) All black people ought to know about their ancestors and other famous Negroes in history that form a part of their heritage; (5) Blacks should wear African styles of dress to show pride in being black; (6) It is

disrespectful and insulting to be called by my first name by whites without my permission.

Respondents in all three counties displayed their least amount of nationalist spirit on item five—the question of wearing African styles of dress to show pride in being black. Only 18.4 percent in Brooks, 15.4 percent in Burke and 16.2 percent in Peach counties agreed with this statement. Patterns thereupon begin to diverge. In Brooks county item two received the most pro-nationalist votes. Ninety-four and six-tenths percent of the respondents disagreed with the statement that black people have never done anything to be proud of, while item four came next—84.2 percent of the respondents agreed that blacks ought to know black history. This was followed by item six in which 67.6 percent of the interviewees were in agreement that they suffered some psychological injury through the use of their first names by whites without their permission. Thereafter came item one and three with 52.6 percent and 19.4 percent, respectively disagreeing in the first instance that they would rather be called "Negro" than "Black"; and agreeing in the second instance that no hairstyle is as beautiful on a black person as the "Afro" or naturale.

In Burke county item four dealing with the knowledge of black history received the most pro-nationalist votes (97.6 percent in agreement with the statement) while item two dealing with whether or not there is anything to be proud of in the black heritage came second with 90.5 percent in disagreement with the statement. Next came item six on the disrespectfulness of the use of first names by whites in which blacks in Burke county were 78 percent in agreement with the statement, followed by item three and one with 51.2 percent and 31.7 percent taking the pro-nationalist position,

respectively. Item three dealt with the preference for the use of the term "Negro" to "Black" in referring to one's self.

In Peach county the item receiving the most degree of nationalist support was item four dealing with black history. This item found 91.4 percent of the respondents in agreement. Item two, on the question of whether or not blacks have anything to be proud of, found 88.6 percent support for the nationalist position. Fifty percent of the blacks in Peach county took the nationalist position in preferring "Black" to the use of the term "Negro" in referring to themselves; while only 25.7 perce cent felt that the "Afro" or naturale was the most beautiful hairstyle for blacks, and 18.6 percent felt that the use of their first names by whites without their permission was psychologically injurious.

There appears to be a basic level of pride in racial identity which receives a high degree of support in all three counties, i.e., that there is a black heritage to be proud of and which all blacks ought to know about (Items two and four). There is less agreement among the three counties' respondents about the more chauvinistic aspects of nationalism, i.e., partiality to afros, naturales, African styles of dress, preference for the use of the term "Black" to "Negro" and the perception of psychological injury through the use of their first names by whites. Again, respondents in Burke county were most supportive of these aspects (44.1 percent). Respondents in Peach county were found to be the least supportive of chauvinistic aspects of cultural nationalism with 27.6 percent, and respondents in Brooks county were in between with 39.5 percent. A closer look at the data from Peach county on this dimension seems to suggest that the perception of psychological injury through the use of

their first names by whites without their permission tends to decrease with the rise of the general educational level of the black population in the county. Other individual items do not display any consistency.

Three items on the black nationalism index dealt with the recognition of bonds with Africa. The statements, all positive nationalist assertions, are: (1) Black people should call themselves African-Americans or Afro-Americans because their forefathers came from the continent of Africa; (2) The black man should look to Africa as his homeland; (3) The only way one can really solve the problems of blacks is to go back to Africa. Each question may be looked at as expressing a progressively deeper dimension of kinship with Africa. The first statement expresses a recognition of African origins, the second the cognizance that Africa is a point of reference for blacks in the present as well as the past and future, while the third statement expressed the belief that, in the Marcus Garvey tradition, return to Africa is the only way one can really resolve the problem of blacks in the racist white Western society. It was found that only 35.7 percent of the respondents in Burke, 28.9 percent in Brooks county and 33.3 percent in Peach county felt that black people should call themselves African-Americans or Afro-Americans; while 45.2 percent in Burke county, 26.3 percent in Brooks county and 22.9 percent in Peach county felt that a black man should look to Africa as his homeland. Only a few respondents in each county expressed agreement with the view that blacks could not expect justice on American soil and should therefore consider returning to Africa--10.5 percent, 11.9 percent and 2.8 percent in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties, respectively.

Two items on the index dealt with the explanations of the black

predicament. Both assertions denounce the pro-nationalist positions. They are: (1) Poor blacks have no one to blame but themselves for their conditions; and (2) Most people on welfare can take care of themselves if they really wanted to. A majority of the respondents in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties supported the pro-nationalist position on the first item; 71.1 percent in Brooks, 53.5 percent in Burke and 72.2 percent in Peach counties felt that other forces were to blame for black conditions. Support for the pro-nationalist position drops when one considers item two. Only 45.9 percent in Brooks county, 35.7 percent in Burke county and 61.1 percent in Peach county felt that the majority of the people on welfare really warranted being there. Burke county seems to be the county with the least black nationalist support on this dimension with Brooks county second and Peach county as the most nationalist of the three.

On the dimension of self-determination, three basic questions were raised; two dealing with maintenance of cultural distinctiveness, and one dealing with the rights of blacks everywhere to govern themselves. The first two questions on cultural distinctiveness consists of one positive and one negative assertion: (1) White children and black children should go to different schools; and (2) the idea of black separation is unrealistic. Item three is a positive assertion; (3) Black people everywhere should be in charge of ruling themselves. Respondents in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties all seemed more interested in achieving integration than they were in maintaining their cultural distinctiveness. Only 18.4 percent of the respondents in Brooks, 16.7 percent of those in Burke county and 8.3 percent of those in Peach county toought that white children and black children should go to different schools; while 22.9

percent in Brooks, 22.5 percent in Burke and 27 percent in Peach counties did not think the idea of black separation unrealistic. More people in each county, however, were in agreement that black people everywhere should be in charge of ruling or governing themselves with 51.2 percent in Burke, 41.7 percent in Peach and 36.1 percent in Brooks counties agreeing with this assertion.

Four items on the survey schedule of leaders were addressed to perception of goals of black power. They were:

1. The real goal of black power is to put control of organizations in the black community into the hands of blacks;
2. Black power symbolized the unity of black people in their bargaining with government and industry;
3. The true goal of black power is to serve as a base for more effective integration into the American mainstream; and
4. Black power is a strategy to get black officials elected to public office.

It was found that only in Peach county did a majority of the leadership sample see community control as a legitimate goal of black power. Fifty-six and three-tenths percent of the leaders in Peach county agreed with this statement as compared with only 20 percent in Brooks county and 17.6 percent in Burke county. Leaders in all three counties supported the idea that black power symbolized the unity of black people in their bargaining with government and industry, with 55 percent, 75 percent and 87.5 percent in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties, respectively. A substantial number of leaders in each county saw the true goal of black power as a base for more effective integration, while only 2.6 per cent in Brooks county, 21.4 percent in Burke county and 31.3 percent in Peach county took the pro-nationalist position and disagreed with

this statement. The perception of black power as a strategy to get black officials elected to public office found 55 percent in agreement, Brooks county, as compared with only 20 percent in Burke county and 37.5 percent in Peach county. If ingroup consciousness and nationalist orientations are seen as informing black collective political action; then the understanding which black leadership has on the meaning of certain nationalist concepts is crucial in determining the goals toward which nationalist activity will be directed. For rural blacks ending discrimination is the primary goal: through public school integration; electing blacks to public office; and equal employment opportunities.[12]

The black nationalist index also contained a dimension addressed to feelings of political efficacy with respect to the larger political system. Two statements denounced the position that blacks as individuals, through vote or personal contact with governmental officials, can have influence in the political system. They are: (1) My vote will have little or no influence on the outcome of an election; and (2) People who run the government will not listen to people like me and my family. Respondents expressed an overwhelming affirmation of faith in the ballot and the power of their vote as an influence on the outcome of an election with 67.6 percent in Brooks county, 70.7 percent in Burke county and 78.4 percent in Peach county. Respondents were not as sure about their ability to gain the ear of governmental officials, however, Forty-seven and two-tenths percent of the interviewees in Brooks county disagreed with the statement that people who ran the government will not listen to people like me and my family.

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[12]Blacks in Brooks county made it clear that they considered the

The last two items on the black nationalist index are miscellaneous ones dealing with the extent of support for busing in aid of public school integration as a worthwhile endeavor and whether or not blacks felt that more time should be devoted to prayer and less time to demonstrating. Statements consisted of the following assertions with which the pro-natinnalists were expected to take issue: (1) Busing on behalf of public school integration is worthwhile; and (2) Negroes should spend more time praying and less time demonstrating. Busing in connection with public school integration has been a very controversial issue for the last three years. Blacks have been found supporting both positions. A pro-busing stance is definite pro-integration and anti-community-control. However, people have been against busing for a variety of reasons including inconvenience of extra time riding the buses to and from school. A pro-busing stance in the rural context might also be viewed as anti-discrimination; especially in view of the fact that most blacks have been bussed for long distances prior to integration. Only 22.9 percent in Brooks county, 32.5 percent in Burke county and 32.5 percent in Peach county took issue with busing as worthwhile endeavor in support of integration.

On the issue of whether or not Negroes should spend more time praying and less time demonstrating, it was found that 38.9 percent in Brooks county, 42.9 percent in Burke county and 56.8 percent in Peach

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tole of the single black elected or appointed official to be acting as a watchdog for the black community in seeing that there was fair distribution of funds and services among blacks and whites.

county did not feel that blacks should spend more time praying than demonstrating.

What evidence can one readily see that there is indeed an overt expression of nationalism in any of the three counties, or are these simply pro-nationalist sentiments? You will recall that the recent black political history in each county has been discussed in Chapter III with highlights on the nationalist activity in each county. To address the question more systematically, we have identified the most common expressions of black nationalism in existence today. They are:

Cultural Nationalism

1. Wearing "Afros" and naturales;
2. Wearing African styles of dress such as dashikis, caftans, etc;
3. Teaching black history;
4. Sponsoring black art exhibits and cultural events.

Economic Nationalism

1. Sponsoring "buy black" campaigns;
2. Organizing black consumers and sponsoring selective buying campaigns;
3. Organizing the black labor force for more effective bargaining;
4. Establishing black cooperatives among farmers and businesses;
5. Encouraging blacks to go into business—black capitalist ventures.

Political Nationalism

1. Organizing the black community to attempt a political take-over of local government—particularly elective positions (asserting black power);

2. Seeking community control of schools in the black neighborhoods;

3. Issuing position statements denouncing third world exploitation by Western powers;

4. Denouncing the Viet-name War as capitalist exploitation of blacks in fighting a third world people.

In all three counties we find expressions of cultural nationalism. Youth sport "Afros," naturaltes and dashikis as "mod" fashions. Even the "Afro" or naturale is popular with the young adult population in each county. Older respondents, however, are more conservative along this dimension. Again blacks in Burke county have insisted on the teaching of black history in their high schools under integration. According to informants, there has supposedly been a concession on the part of the Brooks County Board of Education on the matter of introducing black history into the curriculum. The course is presently being taught by a caucasian who according to the Board is the only person "qualified" to teach it. In Peach county the local Board of Education is quite hostile to the black community. It sven went so far as to condone the use of mace by a white principal on one occasion, against black students protesting unfair student elections of their home-coming queen. Therefore, in Peach county the predominantly black college acts as the main culture center in sponsoring black cultural events for the black community.

According to the recollection of black leaders interviewed, there have been no group level economic nationalist ventures in Brooks county. Several persons have been motivated individually to go into capitalist ventures however. Burke county's black leaders have succeeded in their campaign for unionization at two local industries that employ a large

number of blacks. They also organized black consumers in selective buying campaigns to force the hiring of blacks in two chain food stores in downtown Waynesboro, and the firing of a white employee of a local bread store, also located in Waynesboro. Again in Burke county, blacks have organized the Southeastern Georgia Farmer's Cooperative which operates a demonstration farm in the county and a co-op filling station in Waynesboro. In the Midville community blacks have organized a joint capitalist venture involving the investment in a shopping plaza in Swainsboro, Georgia (Emmanuel county). Leadership in Burke county also organized black consumers to force the integration of the downtown theater in Waynesboro (although unsuccessfully) in one instance and to demand the delivery of more government services such as water and sewage disposal from the local political system in Sardis, Georgia. The Burke County Civic League's mutual self-help organization also provided emergency economic assistance.

In Peach county, black leaders have also sponsored selective buying campaigns among black consumers in connection with its boycott of downtown chain food stores in Fort Valley. Also a number of blacks have set up capitalist ventures in the Fort Valley area. There are no cooperative ventures in Peach county, however. The Fort Valley black community has attempted to make use of student political power to effect a political takeover of local government in the 1972 and 1974 city elections. They also attempted to assert black political power in the 1972 general election. Black candidates ran as Republicans. One makes a basic distinction between running one or two candidates as in Brooks and Burke counties and in offering an extensive slate of black candidates for

public office as in Peach county. The first is an appeal to the white community for tokenism, the latter is more nationalistic in its orientation.

Knowledge of the black power elite and black organizations. The names of forty-one (41) nationally-known black leaders and organizations whose orientations cover the ideological spectrum of black politics were included on the survey schedule in an attempt to measure whether or not there is culture contact with black political leaders outside the confines of the county, and if so, with which segments of the national black power elite. Although the concept black nationalist conceals a variety of distinctions, e.g., pan-africanist, neo-black nationalist, traditional black nationalist, cultural nationalist, etc.; it was found that these distinctions carry little meaning in the rural black community. Therefore all the varieties of nationalist were lumped together under the category nationalist leaders/organizations as opposed to militant-Afro-Americanists and Conservatives-Integrationists. Leaders and organizations included in the survey schedule by category are listed below. They are:

Nationalists

Elijah Mohammad
Stokley Carmichael
Immamu Baraka (Leroi Jones)
Robert Williams
Amilcar Cabral
Owusu Sudouki (Robert Fuller)
Huey Newton
Angela Davis
Ron Karenga
Patrice Lumumba
The Black Panther Party
The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
The Nation of Islam (The Black Muslims)
The Institute of the Black World (IBW)

The Republic of the New Africa (RNA)
"US"
African Liberation Support Committee
The Congress of African Peoples

Militants-Afro-Americanists

Congressman Ron Dellums
Mayor Richard Hatcher
Reverend Jesse Jackson
Reverend Hosea Williams
James Foreman
New Communities, Inc.
The Gary Convention
The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
The National Black Assembly

Conservatives—Integrationists

Mayor Maynard Jackson
Leroy Johnson
State Senator Julian Bond
Roy Wilkins
Vernon Jordan
Soul City, North Carolina
Voter Education Project (VEP)
The Rural Leadership Development Program
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
The National Negro Business League
The National Urban League

Table 31 shows the number of people in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties who were familiar with at least one leader or organization in each category. More people were familiar with the names in the conservative category than any other category. When this factor is related back to leadership interpretations of the meaning of black power (treated earlier in the chapter); one can readily see why black political activity, i.e., informed collective nationalist action, displays more or less the discrimination theme. There is more culture contact between people in rural Georgia with conservative-integrationist members of the national black power elite than there is contact with nationalist or militant-Afro-Americanist members of the national black power elite.

TABLE 31

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAD SEEN, LISTENED TO, OR READ ABOUT AT LEAST ONE OF THE NATIONALLY KNOWN LEADERS/ORGANIZATIONS IN A GIVEN CATEGORY IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Ideological Leanings	Brooks		Burke		Peach	
	Leaders	Organi-zations	Leaders	Organi-zations	Leaders	Organi-zations
Nationalists	22.7	20.2	20.2	19.7	29.7	25.4
Militant, Afro-Americanists	39.5	20.4	42.6	18.8	48.0	25.7
Conservative, Integrationists	53.8	37.1	42.9	25.0	42.6	44.7
Total	38.7	25.9	35.2	21.2	40.1	32.0

The table also shows that in Burke county there was a tendency to recognize leaders' names more than organization names signaling a more personalized identity; while in Peach county it was just the opposite. Leaders tended to be more familiar with conservative organizations than leaders. This says that leaders in Peach county are more used to dealing with bureaucratic personnel than those in other counties.

In brief review, findings indicate that Peach county leads Burke and Brooks counties in all three aspects of traditional political participation, i.e., talking politics, expressing definite opinions and participation in electoral politics. We also found that that county had far more of its share of the talented tenth than does Burke and Brooks counties. More blacks in Peach and Burke counties were employed in industrial and commercial occupations. Peach county also led the other two counties in over-all socio-emotional commitment to political action; but Burke county led the three counties in expressions of in-

group consciousness and nationalist sentiments.

In all three counties respondents expressed their highest socio-emotional commitment to contributions of time and effort in seeking solutions to problems they had delineated in the black community. Electoral activity came second and pressure group activity came third. Violent confrontation received the smallest amount of socio-emotional support in all three counties. In Brooks county leadership expectations tended to exceed non-leadership socio-emotional commitment in all five areas of political action. In Burke county the reverse pattern is noted and with the exception of financial contributions. Peach county also reverses the pattern observed in Brooks county.

Socio-emotional commitment to confrontation strategies are essential orientations for political change in the rural status quo, since blacks have not been able to make significant inroads via the electoral arena. In this respect, the willingness expressed by non-leadership in the three counties, if indicative of support for such strategies among the masses, is encouraging. Again, particular note was made of the predisposal among respondents toward identifying with a national black collectivity as a power balancing variable. Through this mechanism a minority can be transformed into a majority by allying itself with political activity in other black communities over the nation.

The predispositions toward ingroup cynicism rather than trust and the denial of ties with Africa are orientations that are supportive of the status quo. Also interpretations which leadership give to the slogan black power signify that collective black political action in rural communities will be mobilized in pursuance of "ending discrimination" as a

primary goal. These orientations are backed up by the fact that respondents in rural communities have had more extensive contact with conservative-integrationist members of the national plack power elite as opposed to nationalists and militant-Afro-Americanists. What this tells us is that the goals of political activists are not innovative changes, but rather activists are demanding admission to the local political system--to local power enclaves to receive their just share of what is presently being given out. This is not too surprising because the rural black politician is a lay politician. He has not time to seek innovative solutions. Politics is relegated to the realm of an avocation to be pursued, in the main, after he has established himself in his vocation. This is perhaps also why the most active political participants in the rural black community are in the 50 to 64 year old age group.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: THE FUTURE OF BLACK POLITICS IN RURAL GEORGIA

Ideology as a social force can be instrumental in changing the status quo. In this connection we have viewed black nationalism as a set of relevant attitudes for informing collective black political action. In this study of the political orientations of blacks in rural Georgia, we have eschewed the political culture—political socialization paradigm because the concern of that paradigm with the stability and persistence of the established order and with evolutionary change constrains the researcher so that knowledge of limited value in its application to minority struggles is produced. The political culture—political socialization paradigm treats black political orientations in terms of their acceptance or non-acceptance to whites. Black orientations are generally looked at as abnormal phenomena belonging to an alienated subculture which threatens the stability of the established order. That these orientations are perhaps functional for black people, particularly those pertaining to ingroup consciousness, in moving them from where they are to where they want to be is of no real importance to those who espouse theories of the status quo.

Just as it is useful for white society to cultivate images of blacks that allow whites to act in manners that sustain the political

and economic dependence of blacks; it is more useful for blacks to perceive their stereotyped images within the context of power-dependence relationships where language functions to assist the dominant group in maintaining its power advantage. In seeking to balance this operation, black nationalism is a movement in the black community which seeks to offset white oppression by using black identity as a basis for organizing the black community into a more cohesive force. It seeks tollink up psychological equality with demands for political equality, i.e., to link up race pride, self-sufficiency and ingroup consciousness with demands for political and economic equality, self-determination, autonomy and community control.

From this perspective, black politics in the rural context may be seen as another extention of the power struggle between the black community on one hand the the agrarian elite and its agents on the other. The political posture which a rural black community adopts in the power struggle shows influences of several factors which have been identified in this study. They are:

1. The immediate and historical situational context in which black rural communities find themselves;

2. The logic of the electoral equation, i.e., the ratio of blacks to whites in the voting age population, and more important who are in fact registered voters; and

3. The quality and cast of black political orientations, particularly the nationalist sentiment and ingroup orientation extant in the black community.

4. The quality of leadership in the rural black community and their ability to mobilize the masses and anticipate both the goals and capabilities for political action in their community.

Blacks in both the urban and rural context are to some extent

prisoners of history, past and present. The situational context through which their political roles are perceived is mediated both through the logic of the immediate situation and the psychological and social entrapments resulting from centuries of white oppression. This is the meaning of the black experience. One learns his political role not only from the particular social position bequeathed to him by his foreaathers, but also from that role as mediated through perception of the immediate situation, i.e., the logic of circumstances.

The immediate situational context finds rural blacks within a relatively static society economically, socially and politically, whose modernization has progressed at a much slower rate than in the urban South. Even so, social and political values have progressed at a much slower pace than economic development in the rural South. The demographic and political setting of black politics and political orientations in rural Brooks, Burke and Peach counties place a predominantly rural non-farm black population within a non-self sustaining economy. Political institutions are under the domination of an agrarian elite and its agents whose basic relationship with the black population may best be described as of the patron-client variety noted in Powell's "Peasant Society and Clientage Politics."[1] It is set within a race rllations structure which demonstates the stability and persistence of Southern values in which blacks are clients and whites are patrons. The three main characteristics of clientage relationships are: (1) Unequal status between patron and client; (2) Reciprocity in the exchange of non-comparable goods and

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[1] John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientage Politics." American Political Science Review 64, No. 2 (June 1970): 411-425.

services in which the client receives material goods and services--at least enough to maintain his dependency--and the patron receives less tangible rewards (which he can benefit from materially) such as personal services, indications of esteem, deference, loyalty or services of a direct political nature; (3) The relationship is maintained and developed through face to face contact and thus relies heavily on proximity of the parties involved with exchanges between the two being intimate and highly particularistic.

The Southern white value framework in support of the clientage system has been described as traditionalism. Forged out of the logic of the slave economy and refined and distilled during the Civil War, Reconstruction and the Counter-Reconstruction, Southern traditionalism has as its major ideology the maintenance of white supremacy; the maintenance of blacks in positions of subjugation to assure their availability as a cheap labor supply; and the belief that politics is the paternalistic prerogative of the white Southern ruling elite who are chosen for their perpetuation of southern ideals.

The South had perpetuated its ideals via any means necessary. In pursuance of these ideals indiscriminate and personal violence have been used against grassroots leadership in the black community. Whites have not hesitated to use legal as well as economic sanctions in order to deprive the black community of its militant leadership and assure that only the accommodative blacks were left.. The few rewards allowable to blacks under the caste system went to encourage accommodative leaders.

The political and social development of the rural South is, in part, the result of the intervention of the federal government, the civil rights

struggle and the black power movement. The quality of politics in rural Georgia has been greatly affected by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and resultant Federal enforcement efforts; Federal enforcement of public school desegregation; the centralized planning and development encouraged by the federal government which resulted in the division of Georgia into planning and development districts; and primary and secondary contact with leaders and organizations that make up the nationally known black power elite.

The 1965 Voting Rights Act greatly increased black political participation in the South. Federal examiners went into a number of counties in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. However, only four counties in Georgia had received any attention by May, 1968. They were Lee, Terrell and Screven counties which received federal examiners and Hancock county which applied for and received federal election observers. In spite of the comarative neglect of Georgia counties there were increases in the number of blacks registered to vote in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties during this period. The Voter Education Project gives the 1966 number of black elected officials in the eleven Southern states as 72; while since 1969, the number of black elected officials in the South has steadily climbed from 408 to 1,179 in 1973.[2] We find this heightened political awareness reflected in the political histories of Brooks, Burke and Peach counties.

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[2]See U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Political Participation (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office); and Voter Education Project, Roster of Black Elected Officials in the South, 1974 (Atlanta: Voter Education Project, Inc., 1974).

This period of heightened political awareness coincided with the first black power thrust as interpreted by Stokley Carmichael from Lowndes County, Alabama. This interpretation seemed particularly appropriate to the rural predicament in the South. In this fervor did black rural communities in Georgia receive the gubernatorial candidacy of Attorney C. B. King, a civil rights lawyer from Southwest Georgia in 1969-70.

Another instance in which federal intervention has brought about subtle change in the rural political equation is the case of public school desegregation. For the most part the desegregation movement only reached rural Georgia in the wake of the civil rihhts movement of the early sixties, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the "war on poverty" legislation. As a result of the heightened awareness of federal money to be enjoyed through OEO programs, many black leaders became brokers for their communities in bringing into their local economies such benefits as Title III money for teaching materials and equipment, subsidized meals, teacher aid programs and Head Start. We have examples of this in Burke and Peach counties. In other communities where there was no organized civil rights leadership, the Area Planning and Developmen Commission (APDC) performed this function. The APDC also, in the process of trying to meet the federal requirements necessary to qualify for such grants, was indirectly responsible for raising the level of expectations among black community leadership in those communities where the electoral equation was not in their favor and the right of blacks to hold public office had never been conceded by the white community. Even the admission of token blacks to membership on advisory boards and

commissions was considered important gains in black communities like Brooks county. It was after this had occurred and after the black power movement a la Lowndes county, Alabama had penetrated the black community in Brooks county that blacks began to attempt to formally coordinate black leadership through the organization of a Brooks County Civic League and to recruit candidates for local election.

The 1970 Census shows that only 24.7 percent of the black population in Brooks county, 20.7 percent in Burke county and 3.2 percent in Peach county were classified as rural farm residents.[3] Thirty-eight and eight tenths percent in Brooks, 26 percent in Burke and 47 percent in Peach county lived in small cities whose population ranged between 2,000 and 10,000. The rise of agri-business, the application of technology to farming, together with the discriminatory policies of the Department of Agriculture and the Farmers Home Administration have combined to push the black farmer off the land.[4] By 1970 only 35 percent of the black labor force in Brooks county, 19.1 percent in Burke county and 3.6 percent in Peach county were reported as employed in agricultural occupastons.[5]

However, centuries of rural peonage had taken its effect on the black community. They were economically poor and impoverished settlements in which the smallness of the black middle class is particularly noticeable. This is particularly so in Brrke and Brooks counties. The black

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[3]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics--Georgia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

[4]Charles Prejean and the Staff of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, "Rural Poverty--1969 Style," in In Black America, ed. Patricia W. Romero (Washington, D. C.: Pioneer Paper Books, 1969), p. 242.

[5]U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population, Table 127.

business sector is nominal, consisting mainly of those serlice businesses which have survived integration because of their convenience or their catering to specialized clienteles found mainly in the black community. The most numerous and prosperous businesses are those that deal in illegal alcohol, prostitution and gambling. These businesses usually enjoy special symbiotic relationships with white law enforcement officials. Their operators also have considerable political clout owing to their position vis a vis the black masses from whom they draw their clientele. They are valuable as grassroots mobilizers as well as illegal sources of financial gain.

The nature of the data on hand does not allow for more taan a descriptive analysis as opposed to establishment of definite cause and effect relationships. The presence of certain factors on the indices of modernization seems to suggest, however, that political development in the black community is somehow related to the decrease in rural peonage in each of the three counties. Those counties that have fewer people employed in agricultural occupations and greater numbers of people employed in industrial/commercial occupations also have greater black political participation and greater socio-emotional commitment to political strategies. They show greater commitment to innovative political strategies, such as sit-ins demonstrations, marches, pickets, selective buying campaigns, with the exception of violent confrontation.

Black political participation today in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties does not conform to the portrait of blacks given in the literature on Southern politics. That portrait gives an image of a non-political, apathetic black individual who dares not discuss politics for

fear of economic reprisals from the white community and who uses non-political institutions to channel and sublimate his aggressions and ambitions. The literature also suggests that blacks are socialized as parochial subjects of the political system with expectations that the political system will act upon them without their participation, deferring instead to the paternalistic prerogative of the white ruling elite.[6] Also suggested is the idea that black social institutions, particularly the matriarchil family, are in part responsible for the perpetuation of these attitudes.

Findings. Data from the 1970 Census do not show the matriarchal family to be a characteristic of either Brooks, Burke or Peach county, Georgia. Families with female household heads were less than 7 percent of the total number of black families in all three counties. On the question of providing political support, families in Brooks county provided the least political support when it came to discussing who to vote for or against in an election, and in adults discussing their political views with the children in the family. Even so, only when it came to discussing their political views with the children in the family did support fall below the fifty percent level (34.2 percent). Burke county also figured low in the number of respondents who discussed their political views with the children in the family (43.2 percent). In those counties conscious politicization is reserved for adult segments of the

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[6]Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro: From Exclusion to the Big City Organization (New York: Random House, 1969); Arthur F. Raper, Preface to Peananty (New York: Atheneuum, 1968); Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R..Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938); Abram Kardiner and Lionel Oversey, The Mark of Oppression (New York: W. W. Norton, 1951).

population, it seems.

Although the church constituted the nuclei of community action in two communities (Brooks and Burke counties), churches in Burke and Peach counties were more politicized than those in Brooks county. Very few churches in Brooks county ever offered instructions about who to vote for or against in an election, while better than 50 percent in Burke and Peach counties engaged in this type of aciivity. We identified two basic political postures which the black churches in the three counties have adopted toward politics and public affairs. First, there is the good citizenship posture in which church officials encourage their membership to be good citizens and vote but do not discuss candidates and their platforms. The second is the partisan posture in which church officials take an active part in the debate about politics and conditions in the black community. They also give their membership instructions about who to vote for or against in an election. The second posture assumes more of a social responsibility for improving the quality of life in the black community. The first posture is more academic.

The study looked at three basic aspects of political participation, i.e., talking politics, expressing definite opinions and participation in electoral politics. We found a definite trend toward political participation among respondents. Peach county led Burke and Brooks counties in all three aspects of political participation. The most active p political participants tended to be the settled established black citizen. There is a noticeable small number of young adults in the 18–29 year old category in Brooks and Burke counties. Both the black and white communities encourage out-migration of the young black adult population.

In Peach county the predominantly black college contributes to the presence of the young black adult population that holds the balance of power in the voting age population.

Data on the propensity for political action show that more respondents in each county identify with the local sub-community as opposed to the nearest town or village, or the county-at-large. Ateempts to unify the black vote in each county suffers from competing neighborhood loyalties. The social nuclei of the black community in Brooks and Burke counties were the churches. Homes of respondents served that function in Peach county. The structuring of loyalties at the sub-community level tends to indicate that the machine-politics model of interest aggregation may be more useful than other methods. It also suggests that black churches must figure as a key part in political strategies in the black community.

All three counties expressed their highest socio-emotional commitment to contributions of time and effort in seeking solutions to problems they have delineated in the black community. Commitment to participation in electoral activity came second and commitment to participation in pressure group activity came third. Violent confrontation received the smallest amount of socio-emotional commitment in all three counties.

In Brooks county, leadership expectations of community support tended to exceed non-leadership socio-emotional commitment in all five areas of political action, i.e., contributions of money, electoral activity, pressure group participation, direct action and violent confrontation. We also noted in the recent black poltical history in Brooks county a tendency for militant leadership in the black community to be

cynical and disillusioned over the supprt they received in pursuance of their activities. This seems to suggest that leaders have incorrectly guaged the political capabilities of their followings.

In Burke county, leadership expectations of community support tended to be below non-leadership socio-emotional commitment. Burke county also showed the strongest nationalist sentiment on several areas of ingroup consciousness. Burke had the most active recent black political history of the three counties. One factor militating against political effectiveness in Burke county is its sheer size in terms of land area. The county has the largest land area in the state of Georgia.

Peach county also presented a pattern in reverse to Brooks county on the dimension of leadership expectations and non-leadership socio-emotional commitment.

On the dimension of ingroup consciousness and black nationalism there appears to be a basic level of black identity in existence in which respondents saw themselves as belonging to a large collectivity of blacks whose bonds transcended their sub-community. This could tend to support a conclusion that rural blacks are becoming less parochial than one is led to expect. More than this, it is an innovative attitude in that it allows blacks to obtain inspiration and motivation from identifying with the political activity in other black communities over the nation.

On the other hand rural blacks seem to believe the same arguments about the judgment of a candidate's qualification on an individual basis as people in other sections of the country. In addition to this, there is a high degree of political cynicism in regard to the capabilities of black concerted action and the trustworthiness of black politicians.

This was particularly true in Brooks and Peach counties. Perhaps a point for further investigation is the extent to which these beliefs asso occur in conjunction with the belief that politics is the paternalistic prerogative of whites.

Blacks in rural Georgia also expressed a deep level of belief that blacks have a heritage to be proud of. However, when more chauvinistic aspects of cultural nationalism are considered, such as wearing "Afro's", african styles of dress, actively identifying with Africa, etc., only Burke county seemed more predisposed in this direction. Inaall of the counties the ties with Africa were weak. Burke county also gave more support on this dimension than Brooks or Peach county. There is widespread ignorance about black ties with the African continent in rural Georgia. Most of the myths, which eneriees of the cultural nationalists have been directed toward expelling, are still extant in the rural black community. Few respondents recognized the namesoof any African leaeders in the national black power elite. Nor did they readily identify any black leaders who had africanized their names. These names just did not seem to fit into their conceptualization schemes. There was also a feeling that however bad things were in their own communities, going back to Africa was not the proper solution to their problems.

Again belief in self-determination for blacks found more support in Burke county than in Peach and Brooks counties. However, pro-nationalistic explanation for the black predicament found more favor in Peach county than in the other two counties. Brooks county came second and Burke county came last. There was a general recognition that black poverty was not simply a matter of historical accident or of black people

being too lazy to work.

The main thrust of black political orientations seemed to be "ending discrimination" as opposed to "maintaining cultural distinctiveness." While at the nationa level there has been a general lamenting of the fact that a lot of positive features of the all-black schools have been lost in the integration move and that integration is not the panacea hoped for; only a few rural citizens have yet reached this conclusion. They see integration as a means of ending the discrimination that long persisted in the distribution of instructional materials and resources. This state of affairs is far more attractive to them than the poverty of black schools under the dual school system. Leaders were particularly more integration-oriented than non-leaders. The interpretation which they gave to the black power slogan suggests that their interpretations of certain nationalist symbols are both related to the segments of the nati ional black power elite with whom they have had most contact, and the goals toward which they have chosen to deploy the efforts of their following.

Blacks in all three counties tended to express a tremendous confidence in their ability to influence through ballot-casting, but were less sure about their ability to gain the ear of "the people running the government." This is an anti-innovative orientation, because as long as people are satisfied with the status quo and conventional way of doing things they will not seek change.

We have identified two kinds of black leaders in rural black communities according to the function they perform. They are: (1) The mediators and grassroots mobilizers who function as mediatiors between

blacks and local government—particularly the agents of law enforcement and justice; and (2) black political brokers who used liasons with the larger community in pursuance of equitable treatment for blacks on the one hand and to improve the economic and social quality of black life on the other. For all that, however, black leadership is lay leadership. Leaders do not have the time to pursue activity in the black community on a full-time basis, or to seek for innovative solutions to community problems.

Prospects for the future. We should like to view the future of black politics in Brooks, Burke and Peach counties as most promising. However, as we see it political development in the rural black community hinges on several factors, not the least of which are:

1. Continuing reduction of black economic vulnerability to the local rural elite
2. The quality and direction of black leadership;
3. The ability of black leaders to mobilize the black community
    a. through identification of the significant political issues in the black community,
    b. through the political resocialization of the black masses,
    c. through establishing viable alternatives to white controlled communication channels;
4. The ability of the black rural community to establish linkages outside the locally conscribed political system
    a. for purposes of financial and technical assistance, and
    b. in order to establish morale linkages that allow them to transform their feelings of power disadvantage.

Based upon data collected in the three counties it would seem that the prospects for reducing economic vulnerability to the local ruling elite are more promising in Burke and Peach counties than in Brooks. Brooks county does not have the advantage of proximity to a metropolitan center which Burke and Peach counties have. One might expect then that black political activity in Burke and Peach counties will have more nationalist overtones than political activity in Brooks county.

The logic of the electoral equation which renders the prospect for the exercise of black power more feasible in Burke and Peach counties is endangered by continuous out-migration of blacks from those counties. All three counties are losing their black population to the cities. Unless this trend can somehow be reversed, Burke and Peach counties may find themselves in the same predicament as Brooks county. Nationalist sentiments, the need for accommodation among blacks in the Brooks county political arena.

Given the present trend of black political activity in the three counties, it appears that a major thrust of black political activity will continue to concentrate on the electoral arena. The integration goal of ending discrimination will also play a major part in rural black political efforts.

The concept of <u>lay political leadership</u> might be applied to black political leaders in rural areas because that leadership exhibits the following characteristics distinguishing it from the professional politician.

1. For the most part leaders operate on an ad hoc issue or campaign by campaign basis. Black political organizations

in the rural context do not maintain continuous communication with their constituency. This means that their knowledge of the needs, concerns and attitudes of their constituency is at best sketchy. We found some evidence of this in correlation between leadership expectations and non-leadership socio-emotional commitment to various strategies. Even where leadership and non-leadership are in accord on political strategy there is always potential dissension over the choice of goals. Leaders readily admit that they have little time to devote to studying the situation to determine optimum solutions to community problems.

2. The black lay leader has only limited understanding of the dynamics of black political culture and how it figures in the political mobilization of the black community. Black candidates for office rely heavily on the protest of injustice to get themselves elected. There is no clear-cut platform of isuues addressed to problems in the black community. Instead black candidates rationalize their candidacy in terms of their election being good for the general morale of the black community, and as a way of deterring unfairness by white decision-makers. Lack of a visible positive platform is never blamed for the failure of black candidates in winning elections. It is always the ignorance of the masses which is blamed. Yet black respondents indicate that they vote for a candidate, not because of shared

racial identity, but because of his "qualifications."

3. One of the most important factors that distinguishes lay leadership is the limited amount of time that the leader has to spend in pursuit of political concerns and public affairs. It is perhaps unfortunate that political concerns and public affairs, of necessity, must take a back seat to the business of earning a living with black leaders. The black community, in rural areas particularly, cannot economically support full-time politicians. One might further point out that political attitudes have not matured to the point where they might be predisposed to do so. Witness the fact that in most instances public officials serve without remuneration; or if the remnneration is provided it is gratuitous. This factor has a major bearing on the amount of attention which the black leader can give to: (a) the systematic gathering of information on his constituency; (b) continuous search for the means and methods of solving his community's problems; (c) the building of influence repositories through the cultivation of familiarity and reciprocal alliances with resource persons and agencies whose expertise and financial support might be tapped in dealing with the community's problems. Thus most black leaders pursue the political concerns in the black community in their very limited spare time which usually amounts to dealing mainly in crises situations and in an ebb and flow manner.

One gets the feeling, however, that when the masses of people talk of "qualifications" in a black politician, they are really talking about the development of expertise in just the areas that the rural leader's lay status does not allow. This perhaps accounts for the phenomenon that black leaders seem to be chosen because of their repositories of influence they have managed to build up through carrying out other roles in society.

A good point for closing this dissertation is a plea for the direction of more academic energies into the study of the problems of rural blacks. There is a need for the development of a center for the study of social and political change in the rural South.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

WE THE COLORED CITIZENS OF QUITMAN AND BROOKS COUNTY,

wish it known to all to whom it may concern, that **WE DO NOT APPROVE** of the incidents that happened two Saturday nights ago and we are calling upon all of our people to refrain from attempting to test the Civil Rights Law.

We are mindful of the good relations that have existed between the races for the past several years in our community and we wish for that relationship to continue.

We have the profoundest hope that we all can get along together and that **WE WILL** get along together in mutual trust and understanding in the future.

We do trust our competent and duly authorized law enforcement officers and will continue to cooperate in every way with them in preserving Law and Order and the Keeping of the Peace in the City of Quitman and the County of Brooks in the State of Georgia.

SIGNED BY:

Will H. Simmons	L. L. Chisholm
Johnnie Simmons	D. R. Corker
Charlie Simmons	J. J. Jenkins
Conly Simmons	J. J. Chandler
M. Stokes	C. W. Rutherford

(Paid Advertisement)

COMMENDABLE!!!!

is the spontaneous response of the undersigned white citizens to the message from our treasured Negro citizens in last week's Free Press

FOR

1. You imitated the Savior who waived His personal right and paid the temple tax to avoid causing others to stumble. Matthew 17:27.

2. You followed the Savior who rebuked those who would injure others in order to use a desired street. Luke 9:51-56.

3. You are looking carefully to prevent the germination of roots of bitterness whereby many could be defiled. Heb. 12:15.

4. You, of your own free will and at your own expense, are giving diligence to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Ephesians 4:3.

AND MAY

1. Yours be the blessedness of the peace makers who shall see God, whose heart must even now be joyful with pride in children like you

2. And may you be accorded the privileges of love which are infinitely preferable to petty legal rights

3. And may your example light the pathway for others whose chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever.

SIGNED:

Frank H. McElroy
Claude A. Harrison
Carl Rhodes
Lawton G. Lee
T. J. Garrtet

J. A. Hogan
S. A. Phelps
Yot G. Waters
Russell Warmack
Elder W. Eugene Price

John W. Grubbs
C. O. Terry
W. O. Clement
V. V. Griner

(Paid Advertisement)

APPENDIX II

RESULTS OF PEARSON'S CORRELATION BETWEEN AGE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Levels and Indicators of Political Participation	Counties		
	Brooks	Burke	Peach
A. Talks Politicis:			
1) with people worked for or with	.301	.376	.813
2) with black community leaders	.629	.879	.344
3) with white community leaders	.532	.886	.733
4) with relatives outside of the immediate family	.563	.252	.073
5) with government officials/ party leaders	.512	.467	.928
B. Expresses definite opinions:			
6) Talking to people to get them to vote for or against a candidate	.581	.713	.370
C. Participation in Electoral Activity			
7) Voting	.619	.513	.897
8) Attending political meeting/ rallies	.703	.055	.811
9) Financial contributions to political campaigns/ candidates	.255	.620	1.00
10) Working to help a candidate win election	.964	.963	.850

APPENDIX III

RESULTS OF PEARSON S CORRELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Levels and Indicators of Political Participation	Counties		
	Brooks	Burke	Peach
A. Talks Politics with the following:			
1) people worked for or with	.174	.023	.000
2) black community leaders	.624	.116	.002
3) white community leaders	.397	.117	.001
4) relatives outside the immediate family	.879	.022	.846
5) governmental officials/ party leaders	.466	.004	.022
B. Expresses definite opinions:			
6) Talking to people to get them to vote for or against a candidate	.863	.129	.178
C. Participation in electoral activity:			
7) Voting	.024	.557	.365
8) Attending political meeting/rallies	.084	.060	.040
9) Financial contributions to political campaigns/ candidates	.701	.775	.845
10) Working to help a candidate win an election	.705	.057	.037

APPENDIX IV

RESULT OF PEARSON'S CORRELATION BETWEEN SAMPLE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BROOKS, BURKE AND PEACH COUNTIES

Levels and Indicators of Political Participation	Counties		
	Brooks	Burke	Peach
A. Talks Politics with the following:			
1) people worked for or with	.003	.000	.007
2) black community leaders	.078	.017	.013
3) white community leaders	.000	.001	.000
4) relatives outside the immediate family	.002	.007	.860
5) governmental officials/party leaders	.000	.015	.005
B. Expresses definite opinions:			
6) Talking to people to get them to vote for or against a candidate	.003	.015	.012
C. Participation in electoral activity:			
7) Voting	.000	.294	.934
8) Attending political meeting/ rallies	.397	.001	.044
9) Financial contributions to political campaigns/candidates	.429	.000	.239
10) Working to help a candidate win an election	.048	.002	.044

Appendix IV

CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE SURVY OF BLACK POLITICAL ORIENTATION

Interviewee's Position in Home _____ Identification Code _____
Date _____

1. Address _____ 2. County_____State _____

3. Age _____ 4. Sex _____ 5. Place of Birth (County) _____

6. Family income/year _____ 7. How long have you lived in this community? _____

8. How far did you get in school? 1. ( ) 0 - 5; 2. ( ) 6 - 9; 3. ( ) 10 - 12; 4. ( ) 1 - 3 Year(s) college; 5. ( ) 4 years college; 6. ( ) Graduate or Professional School.

9. What do you do for a living? _____

10. Does your job have any of the following characteristics?
A. ( ) Farming or farm related
( ) Non-farm related

B. ( ) Work located inside the county
( ) Work located outside the county

C. ( ) Self-employed
( ) Employed by Black employer
( ) Employed by government
( ) Employed by other private employers

11. Do other members of your family work outside the home? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

12. How large is your family? _____ How many children are there in your family? _____ How many are under eighteen? _____

13. Are there persons in your family who are college graduates? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

14. Do members of your family ever talk about politics or public affairs? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

15. Do <u>you</u> take part in those discussions? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

16. In your family, do you ever speak about who to vote for or against in an election? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

17. Do you discuss your political views with the children in your family? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

18. What is the name of the community in which you live? (You generally think of yourself as being from what community?)

_____

_____

19. How do you feel about living in this community? 1. ( ) Very good; 2. ( ) Good; 3. ( ) Not very good; 4. ( ) Not good at all.

20. Do you consider this community in which you live, your community? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

21. Are there places in your community where you and your friends meet often? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

22. If you know of such places, would you name them? _____

_____

23. What kinds of things (activities) do you do when you and your friends get together at your community meeting places? _____

_____

24. When you and your friends get together, which of the following subjects do you generally talk about 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.?

( ) 1. Religious talk
( ) 2. Social talk (Children, family, social life)
( ) 3. Talk about politics and public affairs
( ) 4. Civic talk (doing good deeds)
( ) 5. Recreational and sports talk
( ) 6. Job or career-related talk
( ) 7. Conditions in the Black community

25. Do you receive or have any of the following in your home? (Check as many as you have.)

( ) 1. Television
( ) 2. Radio
( ) 3. Daily newspaper
( ) 4. Weekly newspaper
( ) 5. Magazines or periodicals
( ) 6. Black newspapers
( ) 7. Black magazines

26. From your own personal experience, which would you recommend to your friends as being 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in giving the true picture of politics and public affairs?

( ) 1. Television
( ) 2. Radio
( ) 3. Daily Newspaper
( ) 4. Weekly Newspaper
( ) 5. Magazines or periodicals
( ) 6. Black newspapers
( ) 7. Black magazines

27. Are you a member of a church? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

28. Is that church located in this community? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

29. How often do you generally go to church in this community?

( ) 1. Each Sunday
( ) 2. Twice per month
( ) 3. Once per month
( ) 4. Occasionally
( ) 5. Rarely
( ) 6. Don't go

30. Does the church you attend (in this community) do any civic work? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

31. Do either the minister or church officers take an active part in public discussions about politics or conditions in the black community? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

32. Do church leaders ever give instructions about who to vote for or against in an election? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

33. Which friends do you visit most in the community? Name them below:

Name	How far (distance) do they live from your house?	Number of times per week or month you usually see them.
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

34. When you generally discuss conditions in the black community, what things do you talk about as most in need of doing that you think the government or political leaders might do something about?

1.
2.
3.

35. What do you think ought to be done about the problems?

36. In trying to do something about the conditions you most want to change in the black community, would you do any of the following?

		Would Do	Would Not Do	How Much How Often
1.	Contribute Money	( )	( )	_____
2.	Contribute spare time	( )	( )	_____
3.	Agree to a 1% tax increase	( )	( )	_____
4.	Serve on a committee	( )	( )	_____
5.	Sign a petition	( )	( )	_____
6.	Register to vote	( )	( )	_____
7.	Agree to bloc vote	( )	( )	_____
8.	Join the Democratic Party	( )	( )	_____
9.	Join the Republican Party	( )	( )	_____
10.	Help organize an all black party or organization	( )	( )	_____
11.	Participate in a sit-in or demonstration	( )	( )	_____
12.	Participate in a boycott or picket			
13.	Trade only with those businesses that support the black community	( )	( )	_____
14.	Take up arms (weapons) or riot	( )	( )	_____

37. Do you ever talk about public problems or the problems of the black community with any of the following people?

		Yes	No
1.	People you work for	( )	( )
2.	Black community leaders	( )	( )
3.	White community leaders	( )	( )
4.	Relatives outside your immediate family	( )	( )
5.	Governmental officials or people in politics (Like people in the Democratic or Republican Parties)	( )	( )
6.	Have you ever talked to people to try and get them to vote for or against any candidate	( )	( )
7.	What about you? Have you ever voted?	( )	( )
8.	Have you ever gone to any political meetings, rallies, barbecues, fishfries, or things in connection with an election?	( )	( )
9.	Have you ever done any work to help a candidate in his campaign?	( )	( )

38. In deciding what to believe on a public issue or problem who is the first, second and/or third persons you are likely to discuss the matter with?

( ) The minister
( ) My mother
( ) Black leaders
( ) Close friends
( ) My father
( ) My children
( ) My sister or brother
( ) My wife or husband
( ) Other

39. Following are some statements representing various opinions people have expressed. Would you indicate whether or not you agree, disagree, or are undecided about what position to take on each of these statements?

	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
1. Poor Blacks have no one to blame but themselves for their conditions	( )	( )	( )
2. Most people on welfare can take care of themselves if they really wanted to	( )	( )	( )
3. White children and black children should go to different schools	( )	( )	( )
4. Negroes should spend more time praying and less time demonstrating	( )	( )	( )
5. I would rather be called "Negro" than Black	( )	( )	( )
6. The idea of black separation is unrealistic	( )	( )	( )
7. Busing on behalf of public school integration is worthwhile	( )	( )	( )
8. I would not vote for a black leader until I am <u>sure</u> I can trust him	( )	( )	( )
9. Black people will not stick together	( )	( )	( )
10. Political clubs are a waste of time	( )	( )	( )
11. It is disrespectful and insulting for whites to call grown black men and women by their first names without their permission	( )	( )	( )
12. Personally, I think such things like "black power", "Black is beautiful", "Black nationalism", Afro hairstyles,			

		Agree	Disagree	Undecided
	Dashikis will pass away like other fashions	( )	( )	( )
13.	Black people should identify with and vote for a candidate because he is black	( )	( )	( )
14.	Black people have never done anything to be proud of	( )	( )	( )
15.	In order to make it in this country, a black man has to think in terms of the survival of the group rather than the individual	( )	( )	( )
16.	My vote will have little or no influence on the outcome of an election	( )	( )	( )
17.	No hairstyle is as beautiful on a black person as the "Afro" or Natural	( )	( )	( )
18.	Black people should call themselves African-Americans or Afro-Americans because their forefathers came from the continent of Africa	( )	( )	( )
19.	All black people ought to know about their ancestors and other famous Negroes in history that form a part of their heritage	( )	( )	( )
20.	Blacks should wear African styles of dress to show pride in being black	( )	( )	( )
21.	Black people everywhere should be in charge of ruling or governing themselves	( )	( )	( )
22.	Most black politicians serve themselves when they get in public office rather than the people who helped elect them	( )	( )	( )
23.	I like to think of myself as a part of the large group made up of millions of other black Americans all over the United States	( )	( )	( )
24.	The Black man should look to Africa as his homeland	( )	( )	( )
25.	The only way one can really solve the problems of blacks is to "Go back to Africa"	( )	( )	( )

		Agree	Disagree	Undecided
26.	The people who run the government will not listen to people like me and my family	( )	( )	( )

40. Whom would name as the 10 most important leaders in this County? Would you also indicate whether or not you agree with their approach to solving the community problems?

	Agree	Disagree
1.	( )	( )
2.	( )	( )
3.	( )	( )
4.	( )	( )
5.	( )	( )
6.	( )	( )
7.	( )	( )
8.	( )	( )
9.	( )	( )
10.	( )	( )

41. Which of the following black men have you seen, listened to, or read about?

Listened to, seen or read about	Heard about vaguely	Never heard about		
( )	( )	( )	1.	Elijah Mohammad
( )	( )	( )	2.	Stokley Carmichael
( )	( )	( )	3.	Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones)
( )	( )	( )	4.	Robert Williams
( )	( )	( )	5.	Amilcar Cabral
( )	( )	( )	6.	Kwame Nkrumah
( )	( )	( )	7.	Cong. Ron Dellums
( )	( )	( )	8.	Rev. Jesse Jackson
( )	( )	( )	9.	Hosea Williams
( )	( )	( )	10.	Mayor Richard Hatcher
( )	( )	( )	11.	Mayor Maynard Jackson
( )	( )	( )	12.	Sen. Leroy Johnson
( )	( )	( )	13.	Rep. Julian Bond
( )	( )	( )	14.	Owusu Sadouki (Robert Fuller)
( )	( )	( )	15.	Huey Newton
( )	( )	( )	16.	Angela Davis
( )	( )	( )	17.	James Foreman
( )	( )	( )	18.	Ron Karenga
( )	( )	( )	19.	Patrice Lumuba

Listened to, seen or read about	Heard about vaguely	Never heard about	
( )	( )	( )	20. Roy Wilkins
( )	( )	( )	21. Vernon Jordan

42. Which of the following organizations have you read about or heard about?

Read about or seen	Heard about	Never heard about	
( )	( )	( )	1. The Black Panther Party
( )	( )	( )	2. SNCC
( )	( )	( )	3. The Nation of Islam or Black Muslims
( )	( )	( )	4. New Communities, Inc.
( )	( )	( )	5. The Institute of Black World
( )	( )	( )	6. The Congressional Black Caucus
( )	( )	( )	7. Soul City, N. C.
( )	( )	( )	8. Universal Negro Improvement Association
( )	( )	( )	9. Voter Education Project
( )	( )	( )	10. The Rural Leadership Development Program
( )	( )	( )	11. N.A.A.C.P.
( )	( )	( )	12. SCLC
( )	( )	( )	13. Republic of New Africa
( )	( )	( )	14. US
( )	( )	( )	15. African Liberation Support Committee
( )	( )	( )	16. National Black Assembly
( )	( )	( )	17. Congress of African People
( )	( )	( )	18. National Negro Business League
( )	( )	( )	19. National Urban League

Appendix V

CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF BLACK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Interviewee's Position in Home _____ Identification Code _____
Date _____

1. Address_____ 2. County_____ State _____

3. Age _____ 4. Sex _____ 5. Place of Birth (County) _____

6. Family income/year _____ 7. How long have you lived in this community? _____

8. Education: Please check the one which includes the highest grade you completed.
1. ( ) 0-5; 2. ( ) 6 - 9; 3. ( ) 10 - 12; 4. ( ) 1 - 3 years college; 5. ( ) 4 years college; 6. ( ) Graduate or Professional School.

9. Occupation: What do you do for a living? _____

10. Does your job have any of the following characteristics? Check those which best describe your job.

A. ( ) Farming or farm-related
( ) Non-farm related

B. ( ) Work located inside the county
( ) Work located outside the county

C. ( ) Employed by the government
( ) Self-employed
( ) Employed by black employer
( ) Employed by other private employer

11. Do any other members of your family work outside the home? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

12. What do you believe to be the major problems of the black community that political leaders or governmental officials might do something about?

13. Have you given much thought to the question of how to go about solving these problems? Yes _____ No _____.
Comments:

14. Have you tried to carry out any of those ideas in any organization in which you hold a key office or position? Yes _____ No _____

Name of Organization	Specific Program

15. What organizations do you belong to and/or hold office in?

	Organization	Office(s) Held
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

16. From what segment of the county do these organizations draw their support?

( ) 1. Church
( ) 2. County-wide masses
( ) 3. Lodge, Association or Club
( ) 4. Rural portion of the county
( ) 5. Occupational group
( ) 6. Youth of county
( ) 7. Community of _____
( ) 8. Business and Professional people

17. Has there been any of the following kinds of political activity in this county in the last 2 years or since 1966?

In Last 2 Years	Since 1966	
( )	( )	1. Candidates running for office
( )	( )	2. Candidates elected to office
( )	( )	3. Class action court suits filed

In Last 2 Years	Since 1966		
( )	( )	4.	Boycotts or selective buying campaigns
( )	( )	5.	Demonstrations
( )	( )	6.	Protest marches
( )	( )	7.	Riots or political violence
( )	( )	8.	Voter registration drives
( )	( )	9.	Group economic ventures launched
( )	( )	10.	Individual economic ventures launched

18. In each of the above areas where you have indicated political activity, who were the key persons (leaders) responsible?

1. Candidates running for office:

2. Candidates elected to office:

3. Class action court suits filed:

4. Boycotts and selective buying campaigns:

5. Demonstrations and protest marches:

6. Riots and political violence:

7. Voter registration drives:

8. Group economic ventures launched:

9. Individual economic ventures launched:

19. How large is your family? _____ 20. How many children are there in your family? _____ 21. How many are under eighteen? _____

22. Do members of your family ever talk about politics or public affairs? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

23. Do you take part in those discussions? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

24. In your family, do you ever speak about who to vote for or against in an election? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

25. Do you discuss your political views with the children in your family? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

26. What is the name of the community that you live in? _____

27. How do you feel about living in this community? ( ) Very good; ( ) Good; ( ) Not very good; ( ) Not good at all.

28. Do you always consider the community in which you live <u>your</u> community? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

29. Are there places in your community where you and your friends often meet? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

30. If you know of such places, would you name them? _____

31. What kinds of things (activities) do you do when you and your friends get together at your community meeting places? _____

32. How would you say the black man in this country came to be in the situation in which he finds himself?

33. Do you ever talk about public problems or the problems of the black community with any of the following people?

		Yes	No
1.	People you work for?	( )	( )
2.	Black community leaders?	( )	( )
3.	White community leaders?	( )	( )
4.	Relatives outside your immediate family?	( )	( )
5.	Government officials or people in politics like people in the Democratic or Republican parties?	( )	( )
6.	Have you ever talked to people to try and get them to vote for or against any candidate?	( )	( )
7.	What about you, have you ever voted?	( )	( )
8.	Have you ever gone to any political meetings, rallies, barbecues, fishfries, or things like that in connection with an election?	( )	( )
9.	Have you ever given any money or bought tickets or anything to help someone who was trying to win an election?	( )	( )
10.	Have you ever done any work to help a candidate win his campaign?	( )	( )

34. In deciding what to believe on a public issue or problem, which of the following persons would you be most likely to discuss the matter? (Indicate your preferences by ranking them according to your 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. choices.)

( ) 1. The minister or pastor
( ) 2. My mother
( ) 3. Black leaders
( ) 4. Other
( ) 5. Close friends
( ) 6. My father
( ) 7. My children
( ) 8. My sister or brother
( ) 9. Wife or husband

35. As you see it, which of the following kinds of political activity would your community most likely find unacceptable, which would they approve of, and which would they participate in?

Find Unacceptable	Approve of only	Approve of & Participate In		
( )	( )	( )	1.	The formation of political parties by blacks
( )	( )	( )	2.	Joining the Democratic Party
( )	( )	( )	3.	Joining the Republican Party
( )	( )	( )	4.	Holding mass rallies and assemblies
( )	( )	( )	5.	Voting
( )	( )	( )	6.	Bloc voting
( )	( )	( )	7.	Financial contribution to political causes

Find Unacceptable	Approve of only	Approve of & Participate In		
( )	( )	( )	8.	Trading only with those businesses that support the black community
( )	( )	( )	9.	Boycotting and picketing
( )	( )	( )	10.	Forming labor unions
( )	( )	( )	11.	Joining labor unions
( )	( )	( )	12.	Holding demonstrations, sit-ins
( )	( )	( )	13.	Violent confrontations, riots, etc. show of weapons

36. In your opinion, what kinds of political actions will work best in your community? _____

_____

37. Who are the other black leaders in this county? Please list those whom you consider to be among the 10 most important leaders in the county, and indicate whether or not you agree with their approach to solving the problems of the Black community.

	Agree	Disagree
1.	( )	( )
2.	( )	( )
3.	( )	( )
4.	( )	( )
5.	( )	( )
6.	( )	( )
7.	( )	( )
8.	( )	( )
9.	( )	( )
10.	( )	( )

38. What changes, if any, would you suggest could be made in order to more effectively represent the black community or solving its problems?

39. Following are some statements representing various opinions people have expressed. Would you indicate whether or not you agree, disagree, or are undecided about what position to take on each of these statements.

	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
1. Poor Blacks have no one to blame but themselves for their conditions	( )	( )	( )
2. Most people on welfare can take care of themselves if they really wanted to	( )	( )	( )
3. White children and black children should go to different schools	( )	( )	( )
4. Negroes should spend more time praying and less time demonstrating	( )	( )	( )
5. I would rather be called "Negro" than "Black"	( )	( )	( )
6. The idea of black separation is unrealistic	( )	( )	( )
7. Busing on behalf of public school integration is worthwhile	( )	( )	( )
8. I would not vote for a black leader until I am <u>sure</u> I can trust him	( )	( )	( )
9. Black people will not stick together	( )	( )	( )
10. Political clubs are a waste of time	( )	( )	( )
11. It is disrespectful and insulting for whites to call grown black men and women by their first names without their permission	( )	( )	( )
12. Personally, I think such things like "black power", "black is beautiful", "Black Nationalism", Afro hairstyles, Dashikis, will pass away like other fashions	( )	( )	( )
13. Black people should identify with and vote for a candidate because he is black	( )	( )	( )
14. Black people have never done anything to be proud of	( )	( )	( )

		Agree	Disagree	Undecided
15.	In order to make it in this country, a black man has to think in terms of the survival of the group rather than the individual	( )	( )	( )
16.	My vote will have little or no influence on the outcome of an election	( )	( )	( )
17.	No hairstyle is as beautiful on a black person as an "Afro" or natural	( )	( )	( )
18.	Black people should call themselves African-Americans or Afro-Americans because their forefathers came from the continent of Africa	( )	( )	( )
19.	All black people ought to know about their ancestors and other famous Negroes in history that form a part of their heritage	( )	( )	( )
20.	Blacks should wear African styles of dress to show pride in being black	( )	( )	( )
21.	Black people everywhere should be in charge of ruling or governing themselves	( )	( )	( )
22.	Most black politicians serve themselves when they get in public office rather than the people who helped elect them	( )	( )	( )
23.	I like to think of myself as a part of a large group made up of millions of other black Americans all over the United States	( )	( )	( )
24.	The black man should look to Africa as his homeland	( )	( )	( )
25.	The only way one can really solve the problems of blacks is to "Go back to Africa"	( )	( )	( )
26.	The people who run the government will not listen to people like me and my family	( )	( )	( )
27.	The real goal of black power is to put control of organizations (like schools, welfare agencies, etc) in the			

		Agree	Disagree	Undecided
	black community into the hands of black people	( )	( )	( )
28.	Black power is a strategy to get black officials elected to office	( )	( )	( )
29.	Black power symbolizes the unity of black people in their bargaining with the people in government and industry	( )	( )	( )
30.	The true goal of black power is to serve as a base for the more effective integration into the American mainstream	( )	( )	( )

40. Which of the following black men have you seen, listened to, or read about?

Listened to, seen or read about	Heard about vaguely	Never heard about		
( )	( )	( )	1.	Elijah Mohammad
( )	( )	( )	2.	Stokley Carmichael
( )	( )	( )	3.	Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones)
( )	( )	( )	4.	Robert Williams
( )	( )	( )	5.	Amilcar Cabral
( )	( )	( )	6.	Kwame Nkrumah
( )	( )	( )	7.	Cong. Ron Dellums
( )	( )	( )	8.	Rev. Jesse Jackson
( )	( )	( )	9.	Hosea Williams
( )	( )	( )	10.	Mayor Richard Hatcher
( )	( )	( )	11.	Mayor Maynard Jackson
( )	( )	( )	12.	Sen. Leroy Johnson
( )	( )	( )	13.	Rep. Julian Bond
( )	( )	( )	14.	Owusu Sadouki (Robert Fuller)
( )	( )	( )	15.	Huey Newton
( )	( )	( )	16.	Angela Davis
( )	( )	( )	17.	James Foreman
( )	( )	( )	18.	Ron Karenga
( )	( )	( )	19.	Patrice Lumuba
( )	( )	( )	20.	Roy Wilkins
( )	( )	( )	21.	Vernon Jordan

41. Which of the following organizations have your read about, or heard about?

Read about or seen	Heard about	Never Heard about		
( )	( )	( )	1.	The Black Panther Party
( )	( )	( )	2.	SNCC
( )	( )	( )	3.	The Nation of Islam or Black Muslims
( )	( )	( )	4.	New Communities, Inc.
( )	( )	( )	5.	The Institute of the Black World
( )	( )	( )	6.	The Congressional Black Caucus
( )	( )	( )	7.	Soul City, N. C.
( )	( )	( )	8.	Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)
( )	( )	( )	9.	Voter Education Project
( )	( )	( )	10.	The Rural Leadership Development Program
( )	( )	( )	11.	The Gary Convention
( )	( )	( )	12.	N.A.A.C.P.
( )	( )	( )	13.	SCLC
( )	( )	( )	14.	Republic of New Africa
( )	( )	( )	15.	US
( )	( )	( )	16.	African Liberation Support Committee
( )	( )	( )	17.	National Black Assembly
( )	( )	( )	18.	Congress of African People
( )	( )	( )	19.	National Negro Business League
( )	( )	( )	20.	National Urban League

42. When you and your friends get together, which of the following subjects do you generally talk about 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.

( ) 1. Religious talk
( ) 2. Social talk -- kids, family, social life
( ) 3. Talk about politics and public affairs
( ) 4. Civic talk -- doing good deeds
( ) 5. Recreational and sport talk
( ) 6. Job or career-related talk
( ) 7. Conditions in the black community

43. Do you receive or have any of the following in your home? (Check as many as you have.)

( ) 1. Television
( ) 2. Radio
( ) 3. Daily newspaper
( ) 4. Magazines or periodicals
( ) 5. Black newspapers
( ) 6. Black magazines

44. From your own personal experience, which would you recommend to your friends as being 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in giving the true picture of public affairs.

( ) 1. Television
( ) 2. Radio
( ) 3. Daily newspaper
( ) 4. Weekly newspaper
( ) 5. Magazines or periodicals
( ) 6. Black newspapers
( ) 7. Black magazines

45. Are you a member of a church? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

46. Is that church located in this community? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

47. How often do you go to church in this community?

( ) 1. Each Sunday
( ) 2. Twice per month
( ) 3. Once per month
( ) 4. Ocasionally
( ) 5. Rarely
( ) 6. Don't go

48. Does the church you attend (in this community) do any civic work?
( ) Yes; ( ) No.

49. Do church leaders ever give instructions about who to vote for or against in an election? ( ) Yes; ( ) No.

50. Which friends do you visit most in the community? Name them below:

Name	How far (distance) do they live from your house?	Number of times per week or month you usually see them.
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		

Name	How far (distance) do they live from your house?	Number of times per week or month you usually see them.
10.		

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